DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 226 693 HE 016 019

AUTHOR	Williams, Melanie Reeves; Kent, Laura
TITLE	Blacks in Higher Education: Access, Choice, and Attainment.
INSTITUTION	Higher Education Research Inst., Inc., Los Angeles, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY	Ford Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Jun 82
NOTE	154p.; For related documents, see ED 214 457, HE 016 016 and HE 016 018.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Persistence; Access to Education; *Black Students; Black Teachers; Career Choice; College Faculty; *College Students; *Enrollment Trends; Fellowships; Followup Studies; Higher Education; *Majors (Students); *Outcomes of Education; *Student Characteristics; Teacher Attitudes; Teacher Characteristics

ABSTRACT

The status of blacks in U.S. higher education was studied as part of an investigation of four disadvantaged minority/ethnic groups. Attention was directed to: rates of educational access and attainment and factors influencing educational outcomes; trends in choice of college majors and careers; representation in various fields; personal and environmental factors affecting educational attainment; perspectives and employment experiences of black professionals; and institutional and program-related factors affecting the progress of blacks. Additionally, a brief historical sketch of blacks in the United States is included, emphasizing changes in their educational attainment and the influence of court litigation. Responses of the federal government and the higher education community to the civil rights movement and development in the 1970s are also covered Findings of a 9-year Cooperative Institutional Research Program study of 1971 freshmen are presented, along with results of surveys of minority group academic personnel and Ford Foundation Fellows. Recommendations are offered concerning: precollegiate education, community colleges, support services, equal access, financial aid, graduate and professional education, and minority faculty and administrators. (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED226693

BLACKS IN HIGHER EDUCATION
ACCESS, CHOICE, AND ATTAINMENT

Melanie Reeves Williams
and
Laura Kent

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Higher Education
Research Institute
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

HE 016 019

Higher Education Research Institute
Los Angeles, California
June 1982

CONTENTS

List of Tables

Acknowledgements

Chapter

1 Introduction 1

- Value Premises 2
- Role of the Commission 3
- Context of the Study 5
- Design of the Study 8
- The Limits of Higher Education 11
- Organization of the Report 12

2 Historical Background 13

- From 1870 to 1910 13
- The Black Colleges 16
- From 1910 to 1950 18
- Court Cases: From Murray to Brown 22

3 Changes in Access and Attainment During the Sixties 31

- The Federal Response 32
- The Response of Higher Education 39
- Progress During the 1960s 42

4 Changes in Access and Attainment During the Seventies 50

- Court Cases: Bakke and Adams 52
- Progress During the 1970s 58
- Institutional Distribution 79
- Representation by Field 87
- Summary 94

Chapter

5 Factors Influencing the Educational Development of Blacks

Student Input Factors 99
Environmental Factors 104
Summary 111

6 Experiences and Insights of Black Professionals

Survey of Minority Academic Personnel 113
Survey of Ford Fellows 121
Summary 126

7 Recommendations

References 141

List of Tables

1. Black Institutions in the U.S. Institutional Population, 1978
2. Trends in Factors Related to Eligibility for College Attendance, 1960-1970, by Race and Sex
3. Changes in Educational Attainment of Persons 25 Years and Older, 1960-1970, by Region and Sex
4. Changes in College Enrollment Rates of 18-24-Year-Olds, 1960-1970, by Race and Sex
5. Changes in College Completion Rates of 25-29-Year-Olds, 1960-1970, by Race and Sex
6. Proportions of High School Dropouts in the 14-25-Year-Old Black and White Populations
7. Regional Differences in Black and White High School Completion Rates and Median Years of Schooling, 1975
8. Proportions of Black and White High School Graduates Enrolled as Full-Time College Students
9. Proportions of Blacks and Whites of Different Age Cohorts Who Have Attended College
10. Proportions of 25-29-Year-Old Blacks and Whites Who Have Completed At Least Four Years of College
11. Regional Differences in the Proportions of Two Age Cohorts of Blacks and Whites With At Least Four Years of College, 1975
12. Proportions of 25-29-Year-Old Blacks and Whites Who Have Attended Graduate or Professional School
13. Black and White Participation in Graduate Training
14. Black and White Representation in Professional Schools
15. Institutional Distribution of Blacks and Whites, Fall 1978
16. Institutional Distribution of Blacks, by Race of Institution, Fall 1978
17. Representation of Blacks in Eight Major Fields at Different Levels
18. Distribution of Blacks and Whites Among Eight Major Fields at Different Levels
19. Baccalaureate Completion Rates of Blacks and Whites at Different Types of Institutions
20. Institutional Type and Quality Variables Affecting Persistence Among Blacks

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All the members of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities contributed to this report through their discussion of the issues generally and their specific criticisms and comments on earlier drafts.

We would like to express our appreciation to Stephen J. Wright, who guided our initial data gathering efforts, helped us to decide on the basic outline of the report, read successive drafts of the manuscripts with care and patience, and made many valuable suggestions for its improvement. His experience and wisdom were of immeasurable benefit. Our thanks go also to Yvonne Brathwaite Burke who, as a member of the subcommittee on Blacks, gave us many practical insights.

Our colleagues at the Higher Education Research Institute helped in a variety of ways. Alexander W. Astin, study director, not only oversaw our work but also drafted the initial report on the results of the longitudinal analyses. Margo R. King supervised the preparation of the manuscript; Barbara Kommel and Lisa Rentschler typed the final report with skill and forebearance.

Melaine Reeves Williams
Laura Kent

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This report assesses the status of Blacks in American higher education, with special emphasis on changes during the last two decades. Between 1960 and 1979, considerable progress was made toward the societal goal of providing equal educational opportunity to all U.S. citizens, regardless of race/ethnicity, but that goal has not yet been attained.

The factors that currently impede the educational progress of Blacks are not identical to the barriers that existed in the sixties; they are much more complex. As an example, let us consider the black student's access to higher education, especially in the public sector. Until the mid-1960s, most Blacks in the South had access to only one type of institution--the black college. Choosing among different types of institution was not an issue. With the development of community colleges and the desegregation of the public white colleges in the South during the 1960s, access was broadened. By 1978, Blacks were enrolled in all types of public colleges, though they were substantially underrepresented in the most prestigious. Thus, the issue of access had been redefined: from whether the black student attended college to where he or she attended college. The question has become: How can Blacks achieve fair representation in all types of colleges, in particular the most prestigious colleges which have the resources to provide qualitatively different collegiate preparation and experiences?

This report is part of a larger project funded by the Ford Foundation and conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute. The immediate impetus for the project was the recognition that America's racial/ethnic minotities are grossly underrepresented in almost all occupational fields that require a college education. Given the nation's racial history prior to the advent of the civil rights movement in the 1950s, this underrepresentation would give less cause for concern if the various racial/ethnic minorities were adequately represented among current participants in higher education. But they are not. Minority groups continue to be underrepresented today in the system as a whole and especially in those advanced fields that prepare students for positions of leadership and status in American society.

The project focused on the recent progress, current status, and future prospects of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians in higher education. Although other racial and ethnic minorities can also be viewed as having unmet claims on U.S. higher education, these four groups were chosen for study because of their size, the gravity of their economic and educational disadvantagement, and their original experience of forced incorporation into American society.

During the fall of 1978, when the project was in the planning stage, HERI and the Ford Foundation jointly selected a national commission, structured to include at least one member of each of the four minority groups studied, to serve as advisory board and policy arm for the project. The commissioners were: O. Meredith Wilson (chair), Alexander W. Astin (study director), Frank Bonilla, Cecilia Preciado Burciaga, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, Albert E. Hastorf, Calvin B. T. Lee, Alfonso A. Ortiz, and Stephen J. Wright.

Value Premises

The commissioners brought to their task a set of shared value premises, believing that these premises are widely held among the four peoples who were the main concern of the project and that the principles they embody are consistent with ideals of social equity that have an enduring appeal for people of all conditions and nationalities. These value premises can be stated as follows:

- Education is a value and a right that is unequally distributed in U.S. society.
- Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians are major groups with longstanding unmet claims on U.S. education. These claims concern not only the amount of schooling received, but also its quality, scope, and content.
- Redressing inequality in higher education is not only an essential component of any significant effort to guarantee to these groups full participation in U.S. society but also a goal worth pursuing in its own right.
- The attainment of full participation in higher education for these groups may in the short run require that financial and other resources be allocated in a manner governed more by considerations of the magnitude of existing inequality than by considerations of the proportions these groups represent in the total U.S. population.
- U.S. society as a whole has practical and moral interests in the achievement of this goal.

None of these premises, it should be emphasized, assumes that any of the four groups need give up its cultural distinctiveness, languages, or values in the process of gaining full access to higher education and full social and economic participation in American life.

Role of The Commission

The commission on the Higher Education of Minorities viewed its work as comprising four major tasks:

1. To document, as extensively and as accurately as available data permit, the current underrepresentation of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians in higher education, by degree level and by field.

2. To assess the educational progress of these four minority groups during the past 10 to 15 years, by degree level and by field;
3. To identify factors in the social and educational environment that facilitate or hinder the educational development of minority students; and
4. To formulate recommendations for increasing the numbers of minority students who enter and complete programs at both the undergraduate and graduate levels and to disseminate these recommendations to practitioners, policymakers, and the general public.

The four functions of the commission were to advise the HERI staff on proposed and completed studies, to give guidance in the interpretation of findings and the formulation of recommendations, and to assist with the dissemination of both findings and recommendations to policymakers, practitioners, and the general public. Subcommittees composed of both commissioners and staff members were formed to deal with specific issues such as governmental programs, the quality of the data used in the project, and minority women. A major outcome of the commission's involvement in the project was the decision to produce, in addition to an overall summary report on the entire project (Astin, 1982) and a briefer document setting forth the recommendations (Final Report of the Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities, 1982), four separate reports on each of the minority groups. It was felt that these "subreports" would provide an opportunity to discuss in detail the history and special problems of each group. This report, then, focuses on Blacks in American higher education.

The full commission met eight times during the project period: on February 25-26, 1979, June 1-2, 1979, and October 5-6, 1979, at Los Angeles; on January

12-13, 1980, at San Antonio; on March 21-22, 1980, in New York; on November 7-8, 1980 at Los Angeles; on April 10-12, 1981, at Ramona (California); and on July 19-21, 1981, again at Los Angeles. These meetings gave commissioners and staff members an opportunity to debate and discuss the issues, to review and revise the study design, to assess the quality of available data, to suggest interpretations of empirical findings, and to draft recommendations. At the San Antonio and New York meetings, which focused on the special problems of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, respectively, the commissioners met with local people involved with programs targeted for these two groups. The April and July meetings in 1981 were designed to review draft sections of the reports.

Context of the Study

When this project was initiated in late 1978, concern for the plight of disadvantaged minorities--which had its genesis in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and which had been strong in the 1960s and early 1970s was on the wane. National attention was being absorbed instead by such issues as inflation, unemployment, the energy crisis, and the defense budget. In addition, an increasing number of socially and economically disadvantaged groups, including the elderly, women workers, and the handicapped, had begun to assert their claims to equitable treatment, financial resources, and compensatory services.

More recent developments on the political scene have not been reassuring. The Reagan Administration has made major cuts in the federal budget, the impact of which will fall heavily on education and on minority oriented programs.

This mood shift has been as apparent in higher education as in other sectors of American society. During the 1960s and early 1970s, partly as a result of racial protests on the campus and in the community, many colleges and universities accepted changes--open admissions, recruitment of minorities, establishment of ethnic studies programs--that acknowledged the unmet claims of minorities in the

United States and the inequitable treatment they had received from the educational system. However, concern over rising costs, along with the fear that projected declines in the college-age population during the 1980s and 1990s would severely erode institutional revenues, led to cost-consciousness and calls for retrenchment. These newer programs, many of which had been initiated on an experimental basis or supported by special outside funding from foundations or the federal government, were especially vunerable to funding reducations or to elimination. Adding to the budgetary anxiety was apparent public skepticism about the value of higher education, particularly its relative costs and benefits.

A recent report of the National Forum on Learning in the American Future makes it clear that higher education has begun to subordinate minority issues to other concerns (Glover and Gross, 1979). Respondents to this survey--including 1,556 "policy makers, educators, and scholars"--were asked to indicate the relative importance of a number of issues both as present and as future goals. Although minority issues were generally given high priority as present goals, they were rated very low among future goals; this was especially true for such matters as promoting affirmative action for minority advancement, recruiting and training minority-group members for managerial and professional positions, providing compensatory educational opportunities to the disadvantaged, and enabling bilingual minorities to study their own cultures and languages.

If the current attitude of some educators toward minority issues is one of benign neglect or indifference, the attitudes expressed by some litigants through the federal courts may be characterized as overtly hostile. The U.S.

Supreme Court's Defunis (1974) and Bakke (1978) cases, for example, reflect a growing public view that higher education institutions have "gone too far" in their attempts to accommodate the special needs of minorities. Similar attitude changes are evidenced by increased resistance to court-ordered busing as a means of ending racial segregation in the public schools.[1]

The prevailing political climate regarding minority issues is illustrated in a recent column by British journalist Christopher Hitchens writing for the predominantly American audience of The Nation (June 13, 1981):

> The status of Black Americans seems hardly to be an issue any more. A depressing series in The New York Times reveals what a low priority the question has become, and sees Blacks bracing themselves for a period of neglect and isolation. I well remember, last autumn, during your election campaign, attending a liberal fund-raising party in New York City. Moving around the glittering appartment, I noticed two things First, there were no Black guests. Second, all those handing round drinks and canapes were black. On a liberal occasion, it seemed to me that you could have one or the other, but not both, of those phenomena. I asked the host about it. He looked puzzled for a moment and then said, "Oh, that. Out of style."

---

[1] For a more detailed discussion of changing public attitudes toward minorities especially Blacks, see Chapter 4 and Jones (1977) and Gill (1980).

Design of the Study

To provide an empirical basis for policy recommendations, the study concentrated on two main areas: first, a description of the current and recent situation of the four minority groups with respect to their rates of educational access and attainment; and second, an analysis of the factors that influence the access and attainment of these minority groups. These research activities were approached by means of a series of analyses of the empirical data. While considerable use was made of existing data sources, a substantial amount of new data was also collected.

In the course of the study, the commission added a third major area of activity--an analysis of controversial issues relating to the higher education of minorities--which was addressed through a number of essays drawing on the literature and, in some instances, upon relevant data. The overall summary report on this project (Astin, 1982) includes two chapters on these issues: Equal Access and Equal Opportunity (Chapter 7) and Standarized Testing and the Meritocracy (Chapter 8).

Data Sources

Empirical studies performed by the commission staff involved the use of several resources, including data from public documents; unpublished data from outside agencies; and data collected especially for the project and, in most cases, involving questionnaire surveys. Data pertaining to the educational access and attainment of minorities were obtained from several public and private sources, including the U.S. Bureau of the Census, the Commission on Civil Rights, the Office for Civil Rights, the National Center for Education Statistics, the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Sciences

(National Research Council), the College Entrance Examination Board (Educational Testing Service), the American College Testing Program, and the Cooperative Institutional Research Program of the American Council on Education and the University of California, Los Angeles. These data provided the principal basis for the commission's analysis of the educational pipeline for minorities (from the high school years through completion of advanced training), the representation of minorities in different fields, and recent trends in minority representation both by level and by field.

Factors influencing the educational development of minority students were assessed primarily through longitudinal data from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program. The principal source for these analyses was a nine-year follow-up of 1971 entering freshmen, conducted especially for this project during the spring of 1980. In order to obtain an accurate picture of the persistence rates of minorities during this nine-year interval, a number of follow-up procedures were used to improve response rates.

Another source of student data involved a national sample of minority students who had received graduate fellowships for doctoral study from the Ford Foundation between 1969 and 1976. To estimate the impact of this fellowship award itself, a "natural experiment" was conducted whereby the same follow-up questionnaire sent to the 1971 freshmen was sent to all Ford Fellows who began their undergraduate studies in 1971 and to a control group of applicants for the Ford graduate awards who had not received the award and who had also entered college in 1971.

Data on faculty and staff were also collected via a national survey of academic personnel working in the same institutions attended by the 1971 sample and a survey designed to tap the experiences and perceptions of minority educators.

These data on students and faculty were supplemented by additional data on the institutions' finances, enrollments, physical plants, and admissions policies, and other environmental information obtained from public and private sources.

Data Analyses

Descriptive studies of the educational access and attainment of minority undergraduates were obtained from published tabulations of several of the data sources described above as well as through special tabulations of these same data sources conducted by the project staff. Analyses of factors influencing minority students' educational development generally involved a two-stage procedure. In the first stage, an attempt was made to adjust for the fact that students entering different types of institutions and different types of programs frequently have dissimilar entering characteristics. Thus in the first stage an attempt was made to control statistically for initial differences in entering student characteristics such as demographic factors (sex, race and ethnicity, age), socioeconomic background (parental education, income, and occupation), high school activities and achievements, plans and aspirations, and values and attitudes. Once these characteristics had been controlled, the second stage in the analysis was performed to estimate the impact of institutional type, financial aid, and other college environmental factors.

Limitations of the Data

It should be emphasized that conclusions based on the commission's analyses of empirical data must be tempered with the recognition that most of the data sources suffered in varying degrees from technical limitations.

Among the most frequently encountered types of limitations were inadequate racial and ethnic definitions, small sample sizes, nonrepresentativeness, and low survey response rates. The best data currently available pertain to black students, whereas the most serious deficiencies occur in data on Puerto Ricans and American Indians.

The Limits of Higher Education

Higher education was chosen as the focus of this study because the Ford Foundation and the persons associated with the project believe that it contributes to the social and economic well-being of individuals and to the political resources and strength of groups within U.S. society. Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians all suffer from powerlessness, and higher education is clearly one of the main routes whereby individuals can attain positions of economic and political power. Further, the quality of life in general can be improved through higher education, which expands employment options and contributes to greater geographic mobility. Finally, higher education can enrich leisure by exposing the individual to a wide range of experiences in the arts, music, literature, history, science, and technology.

But higher education is by no means a panacea for all the problems that confront disadvantaged minorities in the United States. Vestiges of prejudice may persist in the minds of many Americans for years to come, no matter how many minority students complete higher education programs. Perhaps more significant is the fact that many of the educational problems facing these groups occur prior to higher education, at the elementary and secondary levels. Indeed, the results of this study dramatize the need for a much more concerted national effort to upgrade the quality of elementary and secondary education for minorities. Although it is true that higher education can play some role in this process through the selection and training of administrators and teachers in the lower schools, many of the problems of minority education are probably beyond the control of higher education. While the commission believes that this reality does not relieve the higher education system of the responsibility for doing the best job possible with those minority students who manage to enter academic institutions, it also recognizes that solving the problems of precollegiate education for minorities will require the sustained efforts of federal, state, and local governments.

Organization of the Report

The next chapter of this report gives a brief historical sketch of Blacks in the United States, emphasizing changes in their educational attainment, especially as those changes are related to a series of legal decisions from Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) to Brown v. Board of Education (1954). Chapters 3 and 4 detail the educational progress of Blacks over the last two decades: Chapter 3, covering the 1970s, also discusses the responses of the federal government and the higher education community to black demands as embodied in the civil rights movement; Chapter 4 documents the reaction that set in during the 1970s. The next two chapters present empirical findings from this study of the status of minorities in higher education: In Chapter 5, the personal and environmental factors related to the educational attainment and development of Blacks are discussed; Chapter 6 deals with the perceptions and experiences of black professionals. The final chapter sets forth the recommendations formulated by the commission.

for minorities. Although it is true that higher education can play some role in this process through the selection and training of administrators and teachers in the lower schools, many of the problems of minority education are probably beyond the control of higher education. While the commission believes that this reality does not relieve the higher education system of the responsibility for doing the best job possible with those minority students who manage to enter academic institutions, it also recognizes that solving the problems of precollegiate education for minorities will require the sustained efforts of federal, state, and local governments.

Organization of the Report

The next chapter of this report gives a brief historical sketch of Blacks in the United States, emphasizing changes in their educational attainment, especially as those changes are related to a series of legal decisions from Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) to Brown v. Board of Education (1954). Chapters 3 and 4 detail the educational progress of Blacks over the last two decades: Chapter 3, covering the 1970s, also discusses the responses of the federal government and the higher education community to black demands as embodied in the civil rights movement; Chapter 4 documents the reaction that set in during the 1970s. The next two chapters present empirical findings from this study of the status of minorities in higher education: In Chapter 5, the personal and environmental factors related to the educational attainment and development of Blacks are discussed; Chapter 6 deals with the perceptions and experiences of black professionals. The final chapter sets forth the recommendations formulated by the commission.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter sketches the historical background of Blacks in the United States from the period immediately following the Civil War to the middle of the twentieth century, with special reference to changes in educational attainment.[1] Particular attention is given to the development of the black colleges and to the major court cases affecting the educational access of Blacks.

From 1870 to 1910

In 1870, Blacks constituted 13 percent of the U.S. population. Nine in ten lived in the South, with the remainder divided between the Northeast (4 percent) and the North Central regions (6 percent). There were approximately 96 black men for every 100 black women.

Of the 5-19-year-old population, 31 percent of Blacks (compared with 49 percent of Whites) in the South and 48 percent of Blacks (compared with 61 percent of Whites) in other regions were enrolled in school in 1890. Two factors account for the lower rates of school attendance in the South: its history of opposition to providing education for Blacks, and the lack of public schools in its rural areas. (In 1890, nearly four in five Blacks lived in rural rather than urban areas.) The fact that as many as one-third of all school-age Blacks in the nation were attending school is surprising. Nonetheless, their need for education was still great; in 1890, 61 percent of Blacks age 15 and older were illiterate (Bureau of Census, 1978).[2]

---

[1] The historical account given here is, of necessity, brief. The interested reader is referred to the voluminous literature that exists on Blacks in the U.S.: e.g., Franklin (1978); Kluger (1976); Myrdal (1944); and Woodward (1974).

Prior to the Civil War, education in the South was available only to the children of wealthy Whites; indeed, it was illegal to educate slaves. Missionaries from various religious and philanthropic organizations (e.g., the American Missionary Society, the Baptist and Methodist churches), following the Union Army as it moved south, established schools for the newly freed Blacks. In the years immediately after the war, the Freedman's Bureau--the federal agency responsible for overseeing the resettlement of both black and white refugees and for dealing with the numerous problems that confronted former slaves --opened more than 4,000 schools throughout the South, and people flocked to them to learn basic literary skills.

From the beginning, the public schools in the South were segregated by state law, reinforced by local sanctions. The legal precedent that rationalized segregation as a way of life was the Supreme Court's decision in Plessy v. Ferguson (163 U.S. 537) in 1896, which upheld a Louisiana statute requiring separate cars for white and black passengers on railway trains. The plantiff, Homer A. Plessy, argued that the statute deprived him of his constitutional rights as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court disagreed; states could mandate separate facilities as long as they were equal. The majority opinion, written by Justice Henry Billings Brown (with six other justices concurring, one dissenting, and one not participating in the case), maintained that the Louisiana law was reasonable because the legislature had acted "with reference to established usage, customs and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order" (quoted in Kluger, 1976, p. 79). Justice Brown further commented that "enforced separation" did not stigmatize Blacks except to the extent that "the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it" (quoted in Kluger, 1976, p. 80). This ruling established the "separate but equal" doctrine, which was thereafter used to justify segregation not only in public transportation but in all types of public facilities and institutions.

---

[2] Estimates of illiteracy are derived from decennial census data. Between 1870 and 1930, a person was considered illiterate if he/she has completed less than six years of schooling and can neither read nor write.

Two other Supreme Court decisions are relevant here. In the Slaughterhouse Cases (16 Wallace 36, 1879), the Court suggested that citizenship is dual--in the United States and in the state of residence--and implied that state laws could take precedence over the Constitution, particularly with respect to defining and protecting the citizen's civil rights. In Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education (1975 U.S. 528, 1899), the Court ruled that the states had full authority to provide public education as they saw fit. Considered singly or together, these decisions did not bode well for Blacks: Just as they had gained access to education, the Supreme Court was giving its stamp of approval to segregation.

Subsequent to these decisions came the proliferation of Jim Crow laws and the end to integration in such settings as barber shops, baseball parks, auditoriums, circuses, and pool halls. To cite a few examples: In 1905, Georgia established segregated parks; in 1910, restricted neighborhoods were established in Baltimore. And throughout the South, separate but far-from-equal school systems developed.

So pervasive was the belief that segregation was necessary to maintain "peaceful" relationships between Blacks and Whites that even voluntary interracial contact was outlawed, as the Berea College v. Kentucky (211 U.S. 45, 1908) case demonstrates. Berea College, a small religious institution whose student body had been integrated since its inception in 1859, was the target of a Kentucky law requiring that any institution serving both White and Blacks teach them at different times and in different places. Both the Kentucky Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court upheld the law.

The importance of these developments cannot be overestimated; they reflected the dominant mood in most of the country until the civil rights movement began to gain momentum in the late 1950s.

The Black Colleges

The first collegiate institutions designed specifically to educate Blacks appeared in the North prior to the Civil War, chiefly as a product of the Abolition Movement. They included Ashmun Institute (which later became Lincoln University), in Pennsylvania, founded by the Presbyterian Church; Wilberforce University, in Ohio, founded by the Methodist Church; and the Institute for Colored Youth (which underwent several name changes, ending up as Cheyney State College), in Pennsylvania, founded by the Quakers (Louis, 1978). The great majority of private black colleges were established by church-related organizations between 1865 and 1890. Most of the public institutions for Blacks were established as a result of the second Morrill Act of 1890 (Bowles and DeCosta, 1971).

At first, these institutions offered little more than secondary-level work, because of the basic educational needs of Blacks. According to a survey conducted in 1916, fewer than 3 percent of all students in black colleges were taking college-level work. By the 1926-27 academic year, the figure had risen to 32 percent, and five years later, it had nearly doubled (63 percent) (Holmes, 1934).

Black colleges were established in the South at a time when segregation was inevitable. Louis (1978) describes the situation as follows:

> With the hardening of race relations into a legal caste system in the half-century following the combined impacts of the second Morrill Act, the Depression of the 1890s, and the Disenfranchisement campaigns of 1890 to 1907 in all these states /i.e., southern and border states/, there was no prospect of Black entry into the white institutions of the South and little prospect of more than legal minimal support from the state governments. With 90 percent of the American Black population continuing to be resident in the South until World War I, these institutions--public and private--became the only means of higher education for the vast majority of Black Americans. (p. xxiii).

Thus, these colleges were important symbolically and practically. Symbolically, they both embodied and advocated the value of education as a means for black people to improve their socioeconomic status. Practically, they trained teachers and other professionals to serve the black community. (Not until the middle of the twentieth century were large numbers of black professionals able to work outside the black community.) The private institutions emphasized teacher training, whereas the land-grant colleges emphasized agricultural and industrial curricula, although some of the most noted private colleges (e.g., Hampton Institute in Virginia, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama) also had a strong vocational orientation (Louis, 1978).

As Table 1 shows, in the fall of 1978, there were 100 historically black colleges (HBCs) operating in the United States; they constituted about 3 percent of the total institutional population of 3,173 (National Advisory Committee, 1980). In this group of HBCs, private institutions outnumbered public institutions by about three to two. Forty-eight of the 61 private institutions

(79 percent) were affiliated with religious organizations. All but three were coeducational. (The three expections are Morehouse College for men and Spelman College for women, both in Georgia, and Bennett College for women, in North Carolina.) The majority of HBCs (82) were four-year colleges, 16 were two-year colleges, and only two were universities. However, one-third offered graduate degrees. Two of the HBCs were located in the Northeast region, two were located in the North Central region, and the remaining 96 were located in the South.

In addition to the historically black colleges, the National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities (NACBHEBCU) identifies 60 institutions as new predominantly black colleges (NPBCs), defined as institutions where blacks accounted for more than half of both the total enrollment and the full-time enrollment in fall 1978. Most of these NPBCs were located in urban centers: Eleven were in the Northeast region (chiefly the New York City area); twenty, in the North Central region (especially Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, and Kansas City); twenty-three, in the South; two, in the District of Columbia; three, in California; and one, in the Virgin Islands. Slightly over half of the NPBCs (31 institutions) were public, and three-fourths (46 institutions) were two-year colleges.

From 1910 to 1950

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1978), Blacks constituted 11 percent of the total U.S. population in 1910. As in earlier decades, the vast majority--89 percent--lived in the South.

Illiteracy among Blacks was cut by about half between 1890 and 1910: from 61 percent to 33 percent of the 14-years-and-older population. Whereas in 1890, illiteracy had been more common among black men, in 1910 about equal proportions of black men and women were illiterate. Younger Blacks were more likely to be literate than older Blacks, suggesting that black children were taking advantage of the new educational opportunities available to them. This implication is confirmed by the fact that school enrollments among 5-to-9-year-old Blacks increased by about two-thirds over the 20-year span.

Regional differences were pronounced. In 1910, 36 percent of Blacks in the South, compared with 11 percent of Blacks in other regions of the country, were illiterate. The comparable figures for Whites were 8 percent in the South and 5 percent in other regions. Similarly, only 44 percent of school-age Blacks in the South, compared with 57 percent of those in other regions, were attending school in 1910. Among school-age Whites, 58 percent in the South and 63 percent of those in other regions were enrolled in school. Clearly, then, Blacks had greater educational opportunities outside the South, though they were still disadvantaged relative to Whites in other regions.

Between 1910 and 1930, the regional distribution of Blacks began to shift as Blacks left the South for other parts of the country, chiefly the Northeast and North Central regions (Bureau of the Census, 1979). The first large migration of Blacks from the South had taken place during the 1890s, but the out-migrations of the 1910s and 1930s were much larger. Between 1910 and 1920, approximately 454,000 Blacks moved from the South, an almost-threefold increase over the figure of 170,000 for the first decade of the century. From 1920 to 1930, net migration increased one and a half times again, to 749,000.

Foremost among the factors that gave impetus to these population shifts among Blacks was the availability of employment in the industries of the North, particularly at the beginning of World War I. Immigration from Europe had slowed down, and workers were needed to fill the factory jobs that had previously been taken by those European immigrants. At the same time, agriculture was stagnating in the South, and industry developed slowly. Blacks were also pushed out of the South by the severe and blatant discrimination they experienced there.

Net migration dropped during the depression of the 1930s, but the decline was only temporary. In the 1940s, as industry was revitalized under the impact of World War II, black migration from the South increased once more and continued at a high rate during the 1950s and 1960s, with some Blacks settling in the West. Moreover, those Blacks who remained in the South were moving from the rural areas to the cities. Thus, the black population in the U.S. underwent another kind of redistribution. In 1910, approximately three in four Blacks lived in rural areas; in 1940, the figure had dropped to 51 percent. In 1960, only three in five Blacks lived in the South, and only three in ten lived in rural areas (Bureau of the Census, 1979).

Further progress was made in reducing illiteracy. The proportion of illiterates in the black population (age 14 and older) dropped from 33 percent in 1910 to 18 percent in 1930. Regional differences persisted, however. In 1930, Blacks in the South were more than four times as likely as those in other regions to be illiterate (22 percent versus 5 percent). Indeed, the illiteracy rate among Blacks living outside the South was only slightly higher than the overall illiteracy rate for Whites (3 percent). By 1947, the illiteracy rate among Blacks nationwide had declined to 11 percent, and in 1959 it stood at 4 percent.

Concomitant with the drop in illiteracy was an increase in school attendance among Blacks, attributable chiefly to the enactment of compulsory school attendance laws in most states. The proportion of 5-20-year-old Blacks enrolled in school rose from 45 percent in 1910 to 65 percent in 1940, an increase of 20 percentage points. The comparable figures for Whites in that age range were 61 percent in 1910 and 72 percent in 1940, an increase of only 11 percentage points over the 30-year period. Even in 1940, however, Whites were generally more likely to be enrolled in school than were Blacks, and these racial differences in school attendance were more marked among boys than among girls, among those living in the South than among those living in other regions, and among 15-20-year-olds than among younger people.

Although these increases in school attendance among Blacks were impressive, many Blacks still lacked the basic credential need to get a decent job and thus to improve their socioeconomic status: a high school diploma. In 1940, only one in ten Blacks between the ages of 25 and 34 had completed four years of high school; the comparable figure for Whites was 40 percent. Thus, Blacks lagged behind Whites by about 30 percentage points. These differences in high school completion rates may partially reflect prior discrepancies in enrollment; if such is the case, then the gap between the races should have narrowed after 1940. In actuality, however, as late as 1970, the high school completion rate for Blacks was 52 percent, whereas that for Whites was 74 percent, a difference of 22 percentage points. Thus, the gap had narrowed only slightly (Bureau of the Census, 1979).

In summary, as Blacks gained greater access to public elementary and secondary schooling, illiteracy rates dropped and high school completion rates rose. Blacks made steady progress between 1910 and 1950 in attaining formal education; nonetheless, they still had a long way to go to achieve parity with the white majority. The public school systems in southern states were strictly segregated, with black schools far from equal to white schools. The black schools operated with much lower budgets; their facilities were usually old, cramped, and in disrepair; their curricula were limited; and black teachers were paid far less than white teachers. At the postsecondary level, the majority of Blacks had no choice but to attend a black institution, which was likely to be inferior in most respects to a white institution.

One of the greatest obstacles to progress was widespread social support of discriminatory practices. Laws in individual states condoned--indeed, mandated--segregation in virtually all areas of life. Most of the Supreme Court's decisions during this period sanctioned such practices, as did the attitudes and behavior of both the executive and legislative branches of the federal government. Virtually no one who occupied a position of power on the national scene was interested in changing the status quo or in working to end racist practices. However, starting in the mid-1930s, a series of judicial decisions gradually helped to change the situation.

Court Cases: From Murray to Brown

Inequality in education was challenged in a number of lawsuits instigated by the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP. Ultimately, the issue went beyond the inequality of segregation, to its basic injustice. Most of these cases involved Blacks' right of access to white public colleges: If such a right could be established, then Blacks would have a choice among colleges rather than being limited to black institutions (Kluger, 1976).[3]

The first case, known as Murray v. Maryland (169 Md. 478, 1937), involved Donald Murray, a black Baltimore resident and graduate of Amherst, who applied for admission to the law school at the University of Maryland. (Neither of the black postsecondary institutions in the state--the public Princess Anne Academy or the private Morgan College--had a law school.) He was rejected on the grounds of race, with the suggestion that he apply for an out-of-state scholarship. His attorneys pointed out that, although the state of Maryland had authorized a program of out-of-state scholarships for Blacks, the program had not been funded at the time Murray applied to the University; moreover, since Murray planned to practice law in Maryland, studying law at an out-of-state institution would hardly answer his needs. The case was first argued in Baltimore City Court, where the judge decided in favor of the plantiff and ordered the University of Maryland to admit Murray to its law school. This decision was subsequently upheld by the Maryland Court of Appeals, which ruled: "Compliance with the Constitution cannot be deferred at the will of the state. Whatever system is adopted for legal education now must furnish equality of treatment now" (quoted by Kluger, 1976, p. 193). This victory stimulated much interest and some hope among Blacks. But the ruling fell far short of establishing a legal precedent for a similar argument in other circumstances. Maryland was a border state, and discrimination was not as severe there as in the Deep South.

---

[3] Kluger, in Simple Justice (1976) provides a detailed and informative account of the legal cases up to and including the Brown decision.

The circumstances precipitating the second case, Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada (305 U.S. 337, 1938) were similar: Lloyd Gaines, a graduate of Lincoln University in Missouri (a state-supported black institution which did not have a law school) was denied admission on the ground of race when he applied to law school at the all-white University of Missouri. Two features distinguished Gaines from Murray:

> Missouri, unlike Maryland, said it had every intention of maintaining Lincoln University as a first-rate school on a par with

> the white university . . . If [Blacks] wanted a law school, then the state would provide them with a law school, but there was no point building one if no colored applicants showed any interest. Let Gaines apply to Lincoln, and wheels would begin to turning. The out-of-state subsidy, furthermore, was a bona fide offer--not an empty vessel as the scholarship program had been in Maryland when Murray was applying to the law school there--and if Gaines chose not to wait until Lincoln could meet his needs, the state would pay the extra tuition charge, if any. The state said nothing, of course, about paying Gaines's extra traveling and living expenses that would be necessitated by his attending an out-of-state law school.
>
> (Kluger, 1976, p. 202)

The Supreme Court, in a six-to-two decision, ruled in Gaines's favor: Missouri was required to provide education equally for Blacks and Whites within the state; out-of-state opportunities were irrelevant. Moreover, Gaines could not be expected to wait until a law school for Blacks was established at Lincoln University; the "temporary character" of discrimination did not excuse it. Therefore, Gaines was to be admitted to the law school at the University of Missouri.

The Gaines decision seemed at first to be a major victory in the fight against segregation, establishing that:

1. If an educational program is provided for Whites within a state, then a similar program must also be provided within the state for any black applicants. Otherwise, black applicants must be admitted to the white program.

2. If the state chooses to provide a separate program for Blacks rather than to admit them to the white program, then that program must be provided in a timely manner, in response to interest expressed by Blacks.

Obviously, the less expensive alternative, from the state's point of view, would be to admit Blacks to the white program. Nonetheless, one outcome of the Gaines decision was the introduction of graduate and professional programs at several black institutions. The deeply engrained racism of some Southern states is manifested in the extreme measures they took to maintain segregation.

A case in point is Sipuel v. Oklahoma Board of Regents (332 U.S. 631, 1948), which constituted a setback for the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund. Ada Sipuel, a black graduate of the State College for Negroes in Oklahoma, was denied admission to the University of Oklahoma's law school. Cognizant of the Gaines decision, the state offered to establish a separate law school for Blacks when sufficient numbers of them showed an interest in attending law school, and the Oklahoma Supreme Court found this offer acceptable, but the United State Supreme Court ruled that the state would have to provide legal education for Blacks immediately. The state then set up a mockery of a law school in a roped-off section of the state capitol. University students and faculty protested against this travesty, and the Legal Defense Fund, spearheaded by Thurgood Marshall, carried the case back to the U.S. Supreme Court, arguing that this segregated "law school" marked Blacks as inferior by excluding them from the normal process of obtaining a legal education. The Court, however, rejected this argument, holding that the state's provision of legal education for the plaintiff was all that mattered. The quality of the separate program was not even taken into consideration.

In 1950, the Supreme Court handed down three decisions which broke new ground and which partially compensated for the defeat in Sipuel. Sweatt v. Painter (339 U.S. 629, 1950) addressed the question of the quality of the educational programs offered to Blacks. Sweatt, a Texas mail carrier, was rejected when he applied to law school at the University of Texas at Austin. The District Court of Travis County gave the state six months to establish a law school at Prairie State University, a black institution; an alternative was to admit Sweatt to the University of Texas law school. In response to this ruling, the state first "rented a few rooms in Houston, about forty miles southeast of the Prairie View campus, hired two Negro lawyers to serve as its faculty, and called the arrangement the Prairie View law school" (Kluger, 1976, p. 261). A short while later, the state legislature appropriated funds to build a new law school for Blacks in Austin: "It consisted of three smallish basement rooms, three part-time faculty members who were first-year instructors at the Texas law school the rest of the time, and a library of 10,000 books plus access to the state law library in the capitol (Kluger, 1976, p. 251). At a second trial before the Travis County court, the Legal Defense Fund argued that these separate facilities were vastly inferior to those available to white law students. When the District Court ruled against Sweatt and the Legal Defense League, they carried the case to the United States Supreme Court, which reversed the ruling of the lower courts, finding that because the new law school for Blacks lacked such qualities as an experienced faculty, influential alumni, and a reputation in the community, it did not offer Blacks a law education equivalent to the one offered to Whites. The Court declined, however, to address the broader question of the "separate but equal" doctrine or to consider the social and psychological effects of segregation, as the Fund had requested.

At the same time, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on another case concerning access for Blacks, McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education (339 U.S. 637, 1950). McLaurin was a 68-year-old black professor who, under order of the federal District Court, had been admitted to the graduate school of the University of Oklahoma. However, "in accordance with the legislature's hurry-up revision of the state laws, all such instruction of colored students was to be given 'on a segregated basis' within the university (Kluger, 1976, p. 268). Thus, McLaurin had to sit by himself in the classroom, in the library, and in the cafeteria. The District Court found this arrangement perfectly acceptable, but the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with the Legal Defense Fund. In a unanimous decision, the Court stated the "the restrictions placed upon /McLaurin_/ were such that he had been handicapped in his pursuit of effective graduate instruction. Such restrictions impair and inhibit his ability to study, to engage in discussion and exchange views with other students, and in general, to learn his profession" (quoted in Kluger, 1976, p. 283). The court made in a similar ruling in a third case, Henderson v. United States (339 U.S. 816, 1950), involving separate dining tables for black passengers on trains. In these three cases, then,

> the Court had asserted that separate-but-equal education was not a mere slogan. The equality had to be real or the separation was constitutionally intolerable. That was what Sweatt had accomplished. And if separate facilities were not provided, no individual or group might suffer restriction or harassments within the biracial school. That was what McLaurin did. And Henderson extended McLaurin to interstate transportation. (Kluger, 1976, p. 284)

In none of these cases, however, did the Court regard the restrictions as segregation; therefore, it did not reconsider the validity of the "separate-but-equal" doctrine.

Since the Plessy decision in 1896, the Court had come a long way from enunciation of the doctrine to consideration of specific instances in which the practice did not follow the doctrine. From here, the next steps for those concerned with the rights of Blacks were to continue to expose the obvious inequities in separate facilities (e.g., physical plant, teachers' salaries, curriculum, materials, transportation) and then to build a case showing the less obvious but more pernicious effects of those inequities on the psychological development of black children. The goal was to compel the U.S. Supreme Court to question the legality of segregation in light of the rights guaranteed to all American citizens by the Fourteenth Amendment.

In the wake of these suits against public white colleges came a series of suits against segregated school districts. The Supreme Court agreed to hear five such cases at the same time, and its decision on these cases became known by the name of the first case, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (347 U.S. 483). The cases directly challenged the legality of segregation. The Legal Defense Fund argued that the full benefits of education can only be realized when black and white students attend school together. (The Court had alluded to this very point in Sweatt.) The Court agreed. The unanimous opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Earl Warren on May 17, 1954:

> Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal education opportunities? We believe that it does.

> . . . To separate /children/ from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a felling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . .
>
> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.
>
> (Quoted in Kluger, 1976, pp. 781-82)

The Supreme Court remanded the cases to the respective district courts, which were instructed to oversee plans for desegregating the public school systems named in the suits. The plans were to be implemented "with all deliberate speed." The Brown decision represented a monumental victory for Blacks in their right for equal educational opportunities.

To summarize: Blacks were greatly facilitated in their pursuit of equal educational opportunity by a number of court decisions beginning with Murray and ending with Brown. These decisions laid the legal foundation from which Blacks were able to challenge the entrenched system of segregation in the public schools and colleges. More important, they signaled and stimulated a shift in national priorities, from tacit acceptance of segregation to active pursuit of equal opportunity for Blacks (and other minorities) not only in education but also in housing, voting, employment, and other areas of life. The federal government launched a concerted effort to assure that no citizen would be denied his or her constitutional rights because of race or national origin. With the direction coming from the federal government--first, the judicial branch, then the executive and legislative branches--it became easier for Blacks to demand an end to discrimination and segregation at the state and local levels.

CHAPTER 3

CHANGES IN ACCESS AND ATTAINMENT DURING THE SIXTIES

Beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955-56, the civil rights movement gained momentum throughout the South and won public attention and support throughout the nation. Such activist organizations as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) took the initiative in organizing Southern Blacks to demonstrate for their rights. Black leaders demanded an end to segregation in all areas of public life and backed their demands with peaceable sit-ins, marches, and voter registration drives. They were joined by many white liberals, who were attracted by the justness of their cause and the nonviolence of their means. Although civil rights efforts were often countered by hostility and violence on the part of Southern Whites--as was the case in Montgomery, Selma, Little Rock, and at the University of Alabama and the University of Mississippi--some progress toward desegregation was made, and the mood was generally hopeful. Faustine C. Jones (1981) summarizes the situation during the 1960s as follows:

> The black civil rights movement served to give form, shape, and substance to domestic politics during the 1960s. The enormous efforts of blacks and their allies to achieve equal citizenship rights succeeded in awakening the conscience of the nation. As a result, the promise of Brown was brought closer to reality; court decisions, executive orders, legislative acts, and public sentiment worked for the same general purposes. (p. 78)

This chapter describes the federal government's response to the civil rights movement and the Brown decision, focusing on government programs designed to promote equal opportunity in higher education; discusses the efforts of the higher education community itself to improve access for Blacks and other minorities; and assesses the educational advances made by Blacks during the 1960s.

The Federal Response

The Eisenhower Administration, which was in power at the time of the Brown decision, was apparently reluctant to give explicit endorsement to the Supreme Court's ruling or to pursue a vigorous policy of enforcing desegregation in the public schools. President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert, as Attorney General, spoke out and acted more boldly in the cause civil rights. But it was under President Lyndon Johnson that the first real progress was made in the legislative arena: "Johnson used his influence to promote the enactment of over a hundred bills designed to overcome state and local obstruction of civil rights for blacks" (Jones, 1981, p. 76), as well as issuing a number of executive orders that embodied the concept of affirmative action.

Two of the most important pieces of legislation to come out of this period were the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which gave Blacks the potential for political power by outlawing practices (e.g., poll taxes, literacy tests) that had prevented them from voting, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII of the latter act prohibited any institution receiving federal funds from discriminating on the basis of race, color, or national origin. The penalty for failure to comply with this provision was suspension of federal funds. Thus, Title VII reflected a moral commitment, on the part of the federal government, to end racial discrimination and, perhaps more important, imposed economic sanctions against institutions that attempted to continue their discriminatory practices.

Along with this provision came a number of programs designed to help the economically and educationally disadvantaged (a disproportionate number of whom were minority-group members) gain access to the nation's colleges and universities. According to Green (forthcoming), these programs represent an expanded federal role in higher education (which, prior to 1965, was chiefly the responsibility of the states), with emphasis being given to ensuring the rights of individual citizens rather than just to meeting national manpower needs (for instance, in space technology and health care).

Existing federal programs that assist minorities can be divided into four major categories: institutional aid, student financial assistance, special (categorical) assistance to promote access and persistence, and support for professional training and human resource development:

> Many of these programs, particularly those in the last two categories, are, by statute, directed at minorities. In some instances--e.g., financial aid programs--minority students are not the statutory beneficiaries, yet disproportionately high minority participation in these programs provides clear evidence of their significance to minority group goals and interests.
>
> (Green, forthcoming)

The following sections briefly describe the four categories of federal programs and note their effects on the educational access and attainment of Blacks.

Institutional Aid Programs

In fiscal 1980, the largest institutional aid program in the education budget of the federal government was "Strengthening Developing Institutions," authorized as Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965 and administered by the Department of Education. Title III funds have been used for such diverse purposes as developing a comprehensive Freshman Studies Program, a competency-based curriculum in a public two-year college, a Career Development Program for liberal arts students, an Administrative Improvement Program, and a Center for Urban Affairs .

Although some of its funds have been specifically directed to institutions that serve Hispanic or American Indian students, Title III has since its inception been closely associated with the support of the historically black colleges: Between fiscal 1966 and fiscal 1977, these institutions received 40 percent or more of the awards granted under the program. It is not surprising, then, that as enrollments have declined and resources grown scarce, Title III has been criticized for this apparent focus on the historically black colleges. Other institutions--including some predominantly white colleges--have claimed that they are better qualified to be regarded as "developing institutions" and thus should be eligible for Title III funds. The program has also been under fire because various evaluation studies have raised doubts about its overall effectiveness.

Student Financial Aid Programs

Prior to 1965, most federal aid to higher education went directly to the institutions themselves. With the Johnson Administration, the emphasis shifted, and more financial assistance was targeted to students. Moreover, the concept of "entitlement" was introduced: that is, the notion that all

U.S. citizens who so desire and who can benefit are entitled to a higher education and should not be prevented from attending college merely because they come from low-income backgrounds. Earlier, financial aid to students usually took the form of scholarships, awarded on the basis of the student's ability as demonstrated by high school grades, test scores, and so forth. Since minority students often suffer from the educational deficiencies associated with poverty, their participation in such scholarship programs tended to be low.

None of the five student financial aid programs currently administered by the U.S. Department of Education--Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (renamed Pell Grants in 1981), Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, College Work-Study, National Direct Student Loans, and Guaranteed Student Loans--was specifically intended to benefit minority students. Nonetheless, they have played "a critical role in facilitating minority access to and participation in postsecondary education" (Green, forthcoming). Thus, in 1976, minority students constituted 14 percent of all college enrollments but 35 percent of all financial aid recipients (Atelsek and Gomberg, 1977).

The Basic Educational Opportunity Grants program (BEOG), authorized by the 1972 Education Amendments, established the entitlement concept: Its intent was "to put a college education within the grasp of every student, regardless of how poor" (Brown and Stent, 1977, p. 133), with grants being awarded on the basis of need, as determined by a formula that takes into account family income (or, in the case of independent students, the individual's income). Thus, because they tend to come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, minority students have been particularly likely to receive these grants: In 1976, they constituted 43 percent of all BEOG recipients. The total number of BEOG recipients has increased steadily over the years--from approximately 570,000 in 1975 to nearly 3 million by 1979--making this the largest of the federal student assistance programs (Dearman and Plisko, 1980). It seems to have contributed more to increasing access than to increasing choice, since the great majority of recipients are enrolled in lower-cost institutions. Although the awards are higher for students who attend higher-cost institutions, they cover a smaller proportion of the total costs of such schools (National Advisory Committee, 1979a).

In the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants program (SEOG), grants are channeled to students through the institutions, usually as part of a financial aid package, to supplement the resources of students whose financial needs are not met through other sources of aid. SEOG funds are allocated to each state on the basis of that state's share of the national FTE college enrollment. In 1976-77, minority students constituted two-fifths of all SEOG recipients.

The College Work-Study program (CWS), which is also institutionally based, subsidizes part-time employment in on- or off-campus jobs for students, who must be enrolled in college at least half time. In 1976-77, 29 percent of the participants in CWS were minority students. Research indicates that this program is particularly effective in promoting undergraduate persistence.

Like the SEOG and CWS programs, the National Direct Student Loan program (NDSL) administers its funds through the states to the institutions, which arrange the loans for the students. The government pays the interest on students' low-interest loans while they are enrolled; the borrowers assume payments six months after leaving school. This program is the oldest of the federal student assistance program. In 1976-77, minority students accounted for fewer than 30 percent of participants in NDSL (National Advisory Committee, 1979a).

The Guaranteed Student Loan program (GSL) resembles the NDSL program, except that the funds come from private sources (lending institutions) rather than public sources with repayment guaranteed by the federal government or by the states. Moreover, interest rates are higher (9 percent, as compared with 4 percent in the NDSL program). The GSL has a lower rate of minority participation (17 percent) than any other federal student aid program (Green, forthcoming). In recent years, the program has come under heavy criticism because of high default rates, especially among students attending proprietary schools (National Advisory Council, 1979a).

A sixth student aid program (though not administered by the Department of Education) is the State Student Incentive Grant program (SSIG), authorized by the 1972 Education Amendents and designed to encourage states to provide financial assistance to needy college students. Federal challenge grants are made available to states on a matching basis (50-50), "although in many states the ratio of federal to state contributions is much smaller" (Green, forthcoming). Statistics on minority participation in SSIG are not available.

Special (Categorical) Programs

The Higher Education Act of 1965 authorized four special programs designed to improve access and persistence among the disadvantaged by addressing non-financial barriers: Talent Search, Upward Bound, Special Services for the Disadvantaged, and Educational Opportunity Centers. According to Green (forthcoming), "although the legislation does not specifically identify minority students as the intended 'target population' for these programs, their legislative history as well as the high level of minority participation attests to their importance in helping minority students to enter and persist in higher education."

Talent Search aims at identifying disadvantaged high school students with exceptional academic potential and encouraging them to complete high school and go on to college. Funds come entirely from the federal government. Between 1971 and 1977, Blacks accounted for about two-fifths of all Talent Search participants.

Upward Bound is similar to Talent Search in that both programs are targeted to high school students and funded by the federal government. Upward Bound programs, however, are operated by colleges and universities rather than by private agencies and emphasize exposing disadvantaged youth to the college environment and developing the academic skills they will need for college work. Since 1966, Blacks have typically accounted for at least half of all Upward Bound participants. According to one study, Upward Bound participants were no more likely than a control group of nonparticipants to graduate from high school (the completion rate being about 70 percent for both groups) but were considerably more likely to enroll in college: "In 1974, 71 percent of the UB high school graduates compared with 47 percent of the comparison group entered an institution of higher education" (National Advisory Committee, 1979a, p. 35), and the longer they were in the program, the greater the probability of their attending college.

Special Services for the Disadvantaged are directed at undergraduates rather than high school students and are intended to promote persistence by offering personal and academic counseling, tutoring, and other support services not generally available to regular students. The federal government covers about three-fourths of the costs of these services, with the remainder coming from the higher education institutions themselves. Between 1971 and 1977, the proportion of Blacks participating in this program dropped from 55 percent to 43 percent; concomitantly, the proportion of white participants rose from 10 percent in 1971 to 32 percent in 1977 (Green, forthcoming).

The Educational Opportunity Centers program (EOP) differs from the other three in that the centers are located in the community rather than in educational settings. They are intended to meet the needs of the residents of low-income neighborhoods by providing financial and academic counseling that will enable the disadvantaged to attend college. Blacks constituted 45 percent of all EOP clients in 1974 but only 39 percent in 1977 (Green, forthcoming).

Support for Professional Training and Resource Development

This category includes a number of federal programs designed to increase minority participation in selected disciplines--especially the sciences, engineering, and health fields--at advanced levels. Several of these programs are targeted specifically to American Indians and managed by the Indian Health Service Office. Others--such as Legal Training for the Disadvantaged, Minority Biomedical Support, and Minority Access to Research Careers--are directed at minority students in general.

One program of special interest is the Graduate and Professional Opportunity Program (GPOP), which provides two types of aid: fellowships for students from groups that have been underrepresented at the graduate and professional levels (including minorities and women), and grants to institutions for use in identifying, recruiting, and providing support services for these students. In 1978-79, Blacks constituted 45 percent of the fellowship recipients, and three historically black institutions received institutional awards under this program (National Advisory Committee, 1979a).

The Response of Higher Education

The liberal mood represented by the Brown decision and by Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs was shared by the nation's academic institutions, which were enjoying a period of unprecedented expansion and high prestige during the early 1960s. The large sums of money available from both public and private sources enabled them to give expression to this concern for social justice and equality of opportunity by initiating policies and programs designed to help minorities gain access to higher education. Many colleges and universities--including some of the most elite--developed outreach and recruitment programs and introduced special admissions procedures aimed at identifying minority applicants whose overall profiles gave evidence of potential for success in college, even though their past academic records and test scores did not meet traditional criteria. The number of these special admissions programs increased dramatically after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968, and the violence that ensued in some U.S. cities.

As more minority students entered predominantly white colleges, it became obvious that, because of their poor preparation in the lower schools, many of them required special support services to help them adapt to and persist in college. Thus, remedial, tutoring, and counseling facilities were developed for this purpose. In the latter half of the decade, student protests over racial issues resulted in the establishment of ethnic studies programs and ethnic centers on many campuses, and in greater efforts to increase minority representation on the faculty and in the administration.

The proliferation of community colleges, starting shortly after World War II and continuing through the 1950s and 1960s, was one important factor in the expansion of college enrollments generally and in the increased attendance of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds in particular. In 1960, there were 521 two-year colleges in the United States, about three-fifths of them publicly controlled. By 1970, the number of two-year colleges had increased to 827, 73 percent of them publicly controlled. The number of degree-credit enrollments in public two-year colleges jumped from 392,310 in 1960 to 1,519,762 in 1970, an increase of 287 percent. Enrollments in private two-year colleges also rose over this period, but at a much lower rate: from 59,023 in 1960 to 110,220 in 1970, an 87 percent increase (Grant and Lind, 1975). Because community colleges charge little or no tuition, are nonresidential and thus enable students to live at home while attending college, have nonselective admissions criteria (often requiring no more than a high school diploma), and are conveniently located (with many in urban centers and thus easily accessible to inner-city residents), they offer to poor and to poorly prepared students opportunities for higher education that would otherwise not be available to them. Such students can enroll in a community college expecting either to complete an associate degree in a two-year career program or to transfer to a four-year college in order to complete a baccalaureate program.

But even as it provides opportunities, the community college poses dangers. Abundant research has demonstrated that students who enter such institutions planning to transfer to a senior institution are more likely than are their counterparts who initially enroll in other types of institution to drop out before completing their college education. What makes the situation more serious, Blacks and other minorities have a greater tendency than do Whites to enroll in community colleges. For instance, in the fall of 1978, close to two in five of all black college students, over half of all Hispanics, but only one-third of all white college students were attending public two-year colleges (Dearman and Plisko, 1980). The dangers are widely recognized, as the following statement from a document published by the National Urban League demonstrates:

> The issue is whether [the community colleges] are evolving into "the coming slums" of higher education," or into a vehicle for equal educational opportunity for blacks. . . .

> If the community colleges become increasingly the institutions for the high-risk, economically disadvantaged minorities of this country, a differential society, wherein minorities will have to prove the merit of these institutions, is perpetuated. . . .
>
> Could it be that these institutions just by definition re-direct black students toward alternative goals which are usually of lower social rank? The question becomes how to enhance and perpetuate those characteristics which provide for an egalitarian, accessible, high quality, low cost opportunity for higher education without the sacrifice of status and quality of educational services. The promised open door cannot become a merry-go-round only to dreams of upward social and economic mobility. (Stent, 1979, pp. 98-99)

Progress During the 1960s

Before assessing the gains made by Blacks during the 1960s with respect to higher education attainment, one must take into account several factors that help to determine the pool of young people eligible to matriculate at a higher education institution. These factors include delayed education (i.e., being behind in school), high school nonattendance, and high school completion. Table 2 shows statistics on these factors for male and female Blacks of relevant age groups in 1960 and in 1970; changes (in percentage points) over the ten-year period are also shown. For purposes of comparison, the table also includes figures for majority (i.e., non-Hispanic) Whites.

Students who fall behind others of their age level in school are more likely to drop out before high school graduation than are those who make "normal" progress. Among the reasons for their higher attrition rates are "boredom with materials designed for younger students, feeling out of place, being blamed for disruptions and losing interest, and a lack of normal social life with children of similar ages" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978, p. 5). As Table 2 shows, in 1960 over one-third of male Blacks and one-fourth of female Blacks age 15-17 were two or more years behind the modal grade for their age (modal grade being defined as the grade in which the greatest number of students of a given age are enrolled). Comparable figures for Whites were 18 percent of the boys and 10 percent of the girls. By

Table 2

Trends in Factors Related to Eligibility for College Attendance, 1960-1970, by Race and Sex

(percentages)

	Male Blacks			Female Blacks			Male Whites[a]			Female Whites[a]		
	1960	1970	Change	1960	1970	Change	1960	1970	Change	1960	1970	Change
Delayed education[b]	36	26	-10	25	17	- 8	18	12	- 6	10	6	- 4
High school nonattendance[c]	21	16	- 5	23	15	- 8	18	9	- 8	12	8	- 4
High school completion[d]	41	59	+18	42	62	+20	69	83	+14	70	82	+12

Source: Adapted from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women (Washington: The Commission, 1978), Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3.

[a] Whites refers to majority (i.e., non-Hispanic) Whites.

[b] Proportion of 15-17-year-olds who are two or more years behind the modal grade for their age.

[c] Proportion of 15-17-year-olds who were not enrolled in school on April 1.

[d] Proportion of 20-24-year-olds who had completed 12 or more years of school.

1970, delayed education rates had dropped for all four groups. Within each racial category, girls were less likely than were boys to have fallen behind in school, but Blacks of both sexes were still much more likely than their white counterparts to lag two or more years behind their modal grade, and the racial gap was wider for females than for males.

The second row of Table 2 shows the proportions of 15-17-year-olds, by race and sex, who were not enrolled in school in 1960 and in 1970. Again, one finds considerable improvement over the decade in that nonattendance rates dropped for all groups (a decrease of from four to eight percentage points). Nonetheless, even in 1970, Blacks of both sexes were almost twice as likely as their white counterparts not to be enrolled in school. These young people are not necessarily "dropouts," since their nonattendance may be temporary; some of them may return to high school and get the diploma and thus may become eligible for college. But the likelihood is small. Once having left the system prior to high school completion, they are probably lost to higher education.

Finally, Table 2 shows sizable increases in high school completion rates over the ten-year period. In 1960, about two-fifths of Blacks and 70 percent of Whites in the 20-24-year-old population had graduated from high school; by 1970, the proportions had increased to about three-fifths of Blacks and 82 percent of Whites. The gap between the races narrowed only slightly, however: from 30 percentage points in 1960 to about 22 percentage points in 1970.

These trends are confirmed by data on other age groups. Table 3 shows changes in the educational attainment of Blacks and Whites age 25 and older over the ten-year period. In 1960, close to one in four Blacks in the U.S. had no more than five years of schooling; by 1970, the proportion had dropped to 15 percent, whereas the proportion of Blacks completing

Table 3

Changes in Educational Attainment of Persons 25 Years and Older, 1960-1970, by Region and Race

	% with Less Than 5 Years of Schooling			% Completing High School			Median School Years Completed		
	1960	1970	Change	1960	1970	Change	1960	1970	Change
Total U.S.:									
Blacks	24	15	- 9	20	31	+11	8.2	9.8	+1.6
Whites	7	5	- 2	43	55	+12	10.9	12.1	+1.2
South:									
Blacks	32	21	-11	15	24	+ 9	7.0	8.7	+1.7
Whites	10	7[a]	- 3	40	49[a]	+ 9	10.4	11.9[a]	+1.5
North and West:									
Blacks	13	8	- 5	27	39	+12	9.2	10.8	+1.6
Whites	5	4[a]	- 1	44	57[a]	+13	11.1	12.2[a]	+1.1

Source: Adapted from Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: A Historical View, 1790-1978. Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 80 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), Table 70.

[a] Data include persons of "other" races.

high school increased from 20 percent to 31 percent during the decade. The median number of school years completed by Blacks rose from 8.2 years to 9.8 years. Among Whites, the increase was slightly smaller: from 10.9 years to 12.1 median years of schooling. As Table 3 indicates, regional differences persisted. In both 1960 and 1970, Blacks in the South averaged about two years less schooling than their counterparts in the North and West. Whites in the South also had lower median levels of education than Whites in other regions of the country, but the discrepancy was less marked.

In summary, the decade of the sixties saw substantial increases in the numbers and proportions of Blacks completing high school and thus constituting the pool of Blacks eligible for higher education.

Table 4 shows college enrollment rates for 18-24-year-olds in 1960 and 1970. Among Blacks, the proportion of the college-age population who were actually attending college rose from about 7 percent to 15 percent over the decade. Among Whites, the proportion increased from 15 percent to 27 percent. It is interesting to note that, in both years, college-age black men were only slightly more likely than their female counterparts to enroll in higher education, whereas among Whites, the sex differential was marked, especially in 1970, when one in three white men, but only one in five white women, between 18 and 21 years of age was attending college. Looking at absolute numbers, one finds that, even though the increase in the college-age (18-24-year-old) population was the same for both races (44 percent), the increase in the number of college students was considerably higher for Blacks (223 percent) than for Whites (155 percent). Women of both races made greater gains over the decade than did their male counterparts.

As to college completion rates, Table 5 shows the proportion of 18-24-year-olds who had completed four or more years of college, as reported in 1960 and in 1970. White women registered the greatest gains (in percentage points). Once again, however, the sex differential among Whites

Table 4

Changes in College Enrollment Rates of 18-24-Year-Olds, 1960-1970, by Race and Sex

	1960[a]			1970		
	Population[b]	Number In College[b]	Proportion In College	Population[b]	Number In College[b]	Proportion In College
Blacks:	1,865	129	6.9	2,691	417	15.4
Men	887	63	7.1	1,220	192	15.7
Women	978	66	6.7	1,471	225	15.3
Whites:	13,609	2,078	15.3	19,608	5,305	27.0
Men	6,688	1,267	18.9	9,053	3,096	34.2
Women	6,921	811	11.7	10.555	2,209	20.9

Source: Adapted from Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: A Historical View, 1790-1978. Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 80 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), Table 66.

[a] Data for Blacks include "other" races.

[b] Numbers in thousands

Table 5

Changes in College Completion Rates[a] of 25-29-Year-Olds, 1960-1970, by Race and Sex

	1960	1970	Change
Blacks:			
Men	4	6	+2
Women	6	8	+2
Whites:[b]			
Men	20	22	+2
Women	9	14	+5

Source: Adapted from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women (Washington: The Commission, 1978).

[a] Proportions who have completed at least four years of college.

[b] Whites refers to majority (i.e., non-Hispanic) Whites.

strongly favored men, whereas women had the advantage among Blacks.

College completion rates are lower when one looks at a wider age range, since older people tend to have had less schooling. According to Census Bureau figures, the proportions of Blacks 25 years and older who had at least four years of college increased from 3 percent in 1960 to 4 percent in 1970. Among Whites, the proportion increased from 8 percent in 1960 to 11 percent in 1970. There were virtually no regional differences in these rates. That Blacks in the South were just as likely to have a college education as those in the North and West is probably attributable to the concentration of historically black colleges in the South. Even in 1970, these institutions were the chief means whereby Blacks were afforded access to higher education; thus, it was comparatively convenient for Blacks in the South to go to college (Bureau of the Census, 1979). It should also be noted that the gap between Blacks and Whites, in terms of higher education attainment, did not diminish over the ten-year period. Indeed, it was slightly greater in 1970 than in 1960.

CHAPTER 4

CHANGES IN ACCESS AND ATTAINMENT DURING THE SEVENTIES

If the sixties can be characterized as a period of hope and progress for Blacks and other minorities in an atmosphere of economic expansion and social liberalism, then the seventies must be viewed as a period of reaction, of shrinking resources and fading prospects, and of growing conservatism. With the costly and divisive Vietnam War coming to an end and with an economic recession making itself felt, the mood of the country turned sour.

Two writers have described this changing mood as it has affected the efforts of Blacks to achieve equality in education, employment, and other areas of American life. Covering the period from 1969 to 1975, Faustine Childress Jones (1977) analyzes the growing hostilitiy of the white working class toward Blacks:

> These whites were generally frustrated, dissatisfied, and felt themselves to be powerless in their communities and in the American system. This latent hostility appeared to be independent of immediate dissatisfaction and frustrations, but reflected aspects of a general racial orientation built up over the individual's lifetime. . . .These white people view black progress as a threat to their own strivings and achievements. (p. 32)

As competition for jobs and resources becomes more fierce, the latent hostility has often become overt, erupting in violent confrontation.

In addition to the "ethnic backlash" of the working class, there has developed among more affluent and educated Whites a kind of ideological backlash, directed against the liberalism and social commitment that inspired much of the Great Society legislation. "Finding no easy answers to complex social and racial problems," some influential white intellectuals--including Daniel Moynihan, Irving Kristol, and Nathan Glazer--"retreated into the secure positions and are now concerned with the maintenance and stability of an order which has rewarded them" (Jones, 1977, p. 41).

Jones defines four "streams" that make up neoconservative thought. The first, associated with William Shockley of Stanford and Arthur Jensen of the University of California at Berkeley, is a renewal of the belief that Blacks are genetically inferior to Whites and that their intellectual capacity is limited by nature. The second is a "blame the victim" mentality which attributes poverty to the bad habits of the poor: for instance, their supposed inability to delay gratification. The third is the conviction that "governmental and institutional intervention in individual affairs makes no substantial difference" (p. 43). Both these notions were expressed by Daniel Moynihan when he wrote about the "tangle of pathology" that characterizes the lives of poor Blacks and counseled "benign neglect" on the part of the government. Jones labels the fourth stream "pseudomeritocracy," the belief that "adult success comes solely, or primarily, from merit" (p. 46) and that hard work will inevitably be rewarded; according to this school of thought, the "haves" in our society obviously deserve their status.

All these ideas--which receive wide circulation in such "serious" and trend-setting journals as Commentary, Public Interest, and Atlantic Monthly--lend an aura of respectability to attacks on minority aspirations and efforts to achieve some measure of equality and justice in American society. Jones concludes that the negative effects of neoconservative thought "could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. When blacks and the poor are labeled as inferior, this confirms a 'natural rightness' for assigning them an inferior status in society, with all the resulting effects of that status" (Jones, 1977, p. 79).

Gerald R. Gill's Meanness Mania: The Changed Mood (1980) was written as a sequel to Jones' book and describes changes from 1969 to 1975. The term "meanness mania"--with all its implications of "selfishness, stinginess, and hostility"--is used to characterize the "fiscal and social conservatism" that has dominated the "political, cultural, and social" scene in recent years. According to Gill, this mania springs in part from the erroneous belief of many middle-class Whites that Blacks have made enormous advances in the past few decades and no longer suffer from the effects of discrimination; in part from a new ethos of narcissicism, hedonism, and self-absorption coupled with a callousness toward the disadvantaged in American society; and in part from a "weariness with change" and a nostalgic desire to return to (some false image of) the past--impulses that some authorities regard as part of a cyclical pattern in American history.

Most of Gill's book is devoted to the issues that absorbed the attention of middle-class white Americans during the late seventies. Among the topics he covers are attacks (from both the radical left and the reactionary right) on the quality of public education, opposition to busing, proposals for tuition tax credits and education vouchers (intended primarily to benefit the middle class), demands for competency-based testing, the tax revolt as exemplified in California's Proposition 13, and recent challenges to the concept of affirmative action.

Both Jones and Gill offer a mass of evidence to support their argument that the cause of equal opportunity for minorities has been losing ground in the past decade. The next section discusses two court cases which seem, on balance, to add further weight to this argument. The body of the chapter presents data on the recent progress and current status of Blacks in the higher education system, on their institutional enrollment patterns, and on their representation in various fields.

Court Cases: Bakke and Adams

The charge of "reverse discrimination"--the notion that affirmative action taken to redress the effects of past discrimination on Blacks and other minorities (including women) necessarily discriminates against white men and is thus unfair and illegal--lies at the heart of the Bakke case (Regents of the University of California v. Allan Bakke). Bakke, a white male, claimed that he had unfairly been denied admission to the UC Davis medical school because of the school's special admissions program, which reserved up to 16 places in the first-year class for minority-group members. The case, which made its way through the California Supreme Court to the United States Supreme Court, attracted nationwide attention and drew a wide variety of organizations and institutions into the arena: a record 69 amicus curiae briefs were filed in the case. Supporters of Bakke leveled the charge of reverse discrimination, maintaining that the medical school's special admissions program amounted to the establishment of a quota system and that such quotas are repugnant and unconstitutional; in their admissions practices, public institutions must be color-blind. On the other side, advocates of affirmative action held that traditional admissons practices had long worked to the detriment of the disadvantaged and that special programs are needed to compensate for past inequities and to bring Blacks and other minorities into the mainstream of American life; a decision in favor of Bakke, they said, would undo whatever small progress has been made in this area. As Justice Thurgood Marshall stated in his opinion: "During most of the past 200 years, the Constitution as interpreted by this Court did not prohibit the most ingenious and pervasive forms of discrimination against the Negro. Now, when a State acts to remedy the effects of that legacy of discrimination, I cannot believe that this same Constitution stands as a barrier" (quoted in Gill, 1980, p. 75).

The Court's decision, handed down in June of 1978, raised more questions than it answered. The Court (voting five to four) found the Davis program unacceptable and directed that Bakke be admitted to medical school. At the same time (in another five to four vote), it upheld the use of race as a "determining factor" in admissions decisions, citing Harvard's program as acceptable. Predictably, reaction was mixed. Gill (1980) describes the range of responses:

> [There were] those who viewed the decision as harmful to blacks and other minorities; those who viewed the decision to admit Bakke with alarm, but who agree with the Court's approving the use of race as a factor in the admission process; those who applauded the elimination of Davis' special minority admissions plan; and, those who praised the Court for eliminating the special minority admissions plan, but who decried the use of race as a factor in admissions. (p. 64)

The precise effects of the *Bakke* decision are difficult to assess. Many colleges and universities may have retreated from their commitment to affirmative action. Some graduate and professional schools have eliminated their special admissions programs or revised them to make economic disadvantagement rather than race/ethnicity a key factor, thus reserving some places for low-income Whites as well as low-income minorities; even this accommodation has been attacked by some critics as an illegal quota system. Gill maintains that "the controversy surrounding the *Bakke* case [had] a chilling effect" on the enrollment of black students in professional schools. Data provided by the Association of American Medical Colleges show that the proportion of Blacks among first-year medical school enrollments dropped from 6 percent in 1977-78 to 5.8 percent in 1978-79 and 5.7 percent in 1979-80, then rose to 6.5 in 1980-81; moreover, the absolute number of Blacks admitted to medical school has remained fairly steady or increased (see Astin, 1982, p. 84). Thus, Gill's statement is not supported by this evidence. What is important about the *Bakke* case, however, is what it reveals about the mood of the country: widespread opposition to affirmative action and a feeling, on the part of many middle-class Whites, that the government has already "done enough" to help disadvantaged minorities. It is impossible to calculate how many Blacks have been discouraged from continuing on to graduate or professional school by their awareness that a large segment of the public is indifferent, or outright hostile, to their aspirations.

A somewhat unexpected consequence of the Bakke decision is that graduate and professional schools within predominantly black institutions--which historically have played such a vital role in training Blacks for high-level positions--have come under attack for giving preferential treatment to black applicants and for directing their programs at black students. The integrity of the historically black colleges is also threatened, according to some observers, as a result of another court case: Adams v. Richardson (480 F, 2nd, 1159, D. C. Cir., 1973).

The Adams litigation began in 1970 when the Legal Defense Fund (LDF) of the NAACP filed a class action suit against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (or, more accurately, against Elliot Richardson, then Secretary of HEW, and Stanley Pottinger, director of HEW's Office for Civil Rights), charging that HEW was moving too slowly in enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits federal support to public education institutions that practice segregation and discrimination. The LDF complaint pointed out that, following earlier investigations, HEW had concluded that ten southern and border states were violating Title VI by operating a dual system of education but had failed to take any action beyond sending letters to the states involved requesting voluntary compliance. In February of 1973, Judge John Pratt of the U.S. District Court of the District of Columbia "ordered HEW either to obtain compliance from the ten states by receiving acceptable desgregation plans or to begin enforcing Title VI by terminating funds to those states that failed to develop and submit acceptable desegregation plans" (Haynes, 1978, pp. II-6-7). This decision was upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals, which set June 1974 as the deadline for receiving acceptable plans. Nine of the ten states submitted plans by the deadline, and eight of the plans were deemed acceptable by HEW. (Louisiana failed to submit a plan, and Mississippi submitted one that was not completely acceptable; both cases were referred to the Justice Department for action.)

In August of 1975, the Legal Defense Fund returned to the Circuit Court with a Motion for Further Relief, charging that the eight desegregation plans accepted by HEW did not in fact comply with the decisions of the courts and that HEW was doing nothing to enforce implementation. LDF called for the development of new plans designed to result in the increased representation of Blacks in the student bodies and on the faculty, administration, and governing boards of white colleges and to enhance the role of the black colleges. Judge Pratt's final decision, delivered in April 1977, generally found for the plaintiffs; HEW was ordered to seek more effective desegregation plans from six of the eight states. The new plans were to be submitted and approved by January 1978 and implemented during the 1981-82 academic year.

Opinion within the black community on the issues raised by the Adams case has been divided, with some black educators fearing that desegregation in higher education would, in effect, mean the end of the historically black colleges (HBCs). The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO), an organization comprising presidents of black colleges, filed two amicus briefs opposing LDF in the course of the litigation. According to NAFEO, the HBCs have long served as "special-purpose" institutions, compensating for the negative effects of the "crippling and debilitating elementary and secondary educational system" on black youth. Elimination of the dual system of higher education that exists in some states, and establishment of a unitary system, would mean that "the Black Institutions must be assimilated into the white unitary system" (NAFEO amicus curiae brief filed with the U.S. Court of Appeals; quoted in Haynes, 1978, pp. C-22, C-23). Although this assimilation would ostensibly promote equality of educational opportunity, it would actually subvert the larger goal of providing "equality of educational attainment," a function long performed by the HBCs, which have moreover since the very beginning been open to all races and have thus "been more profoundly representative of the American Ethic than the larger, more affluent schools of Higher Education in this country" (quoted in Haynes, 1978, p. C-28).

In response to the concerns expressed by NAFEO, the appeals court referred to the "important role" played by the black colleges in training minority professionals and emphasized that desegregation in higher education must be carried out on a statewide basis, rather than institution by institution, in order to assure the continued vitality of the historically black colleges. Moreover, in his 1977 Supplemental Order, Judge Pratt ordered HEW to draw up new guidelines for desegregation plans that would take into account the special needs of black colleges: "The process of desegregation must not place a greater burden on Black institutions or Black students' opportunity to receive a quality public higher education. The desegregation process should take into account the unequal status of the Black colleges and the real danger that desegregation will diminish higher education opportunities for blacks" (quoted in Haynes, 1978, p. I-5).

The National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Blacks Colleges and Universities, a group of educators created to advise the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has mixed views on the ramifications and possible consequences of the Adams case. On the other hand, it believes that "the emphasis on equitable treatment. . . .will do much toward helping the public Black colleges to attract and maintain the quality faculty with the appropriate commitment to the type of instruction the HBC's have characteristically offered" (1979b, p. 40). On the other, it warns that increased competition for qualified black students may have adverse effects. Insofar as the pool is limited, and to the extent that white institutions are successful in recruiting a larger share of that pool, the historically black colleges are threatened by severe enrollment reductions, and concomitantly, loss of revenue.

In its recommendations for "financing and planning for diversity in American higher education," the National Advisory Committee (1979b) states:

> Where diversity as to control is a clearly defined and accepted concept, there exists a contradictory posture with respect to the maintenance of diversity based upon racial characteristics. . . .The direction of integration efforts in the Adams States points to an emphasis on adjusting the mix of other race students at historically Black and white institutions. . . .Loss of a minority sensitive environment such as that typically afforded in the HBC's in not an even trade-off and may be a setback in equal educational opportunites for Blacks. (p. 55)

Thus, it recommends that the public black colleges continue to pursue their historical missions and that federal and state agencies monitor desegregation efforts to assure that they do not lead to loss of black enrollment or to increases in the attrition of black students.

In sum, both NAFEO and the National Advisory Committee support the Adams decision insofar as it may lead to the programmatic and physical enhancement of the historically black colleges. But they oppose desegregation of the HBCs to the extent that the predominantly minority atmosphere would be lost and the institutions no longer racially identifiable (as was originally proposed by the Legal Defense Fund).

Progress During the 1970s

This section examines the recent progress and current status of Blacks in their quest for equal educational opportunity. Using data from a variety of sources, it follows Blacks through the educational pipeline: from high school completion, through college entry and baccalaureate attainment, to participation in graduate and professional education.

High School Completion

Chapter 3 noted that the pool of young Blacks eligible to matriculate at a higher education institution increased during the 1960s, as rates of delayed education and high school nonattendance dropped and as the high school completion rate rose. Progress continued to be made in these areas during the 1970s. According to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978), the proportion of 15-17-year-old Blacks who were two or more years behind the modal grade for their age dropped: from 26 percent in 1970 to 23 percent in 1976 for boys; from 17 percent in 1970 to 15 percent in 1976 for girls. Nonetheless, even as recently as 1976, Blacks were about twice as likely as majority (non-Hispanic) Whites (whose delayed education rates were 10 percent for boys and 7 percent for girls) to have fallen at least two years behind in school. As pointed out earlier, this scholastic retardation increases the student's probability of dropping out of school prior to graduation. The proportion of 15-17-year-old Blacks not enrolled in school also dropped between 1970 and 1976: from 16 percent to 7 percent for boys; from 15 percent to 6 percent for girls. The comparable figures for majority Whites in 1976 were 5 percent for boys and 6 percent for girls. In short, Blacks were close to achieving parity with Whites in terms of high school attendance rates for this age group. Among 20-24-year-old Blacks, high school completion rates rose from about three in five in 1970 to about three in four (74 percent) for both sexes in 1976. Thus, 26 percent of Blacks, compared with 13-14 percent of Whites, in this age group may be designated high school dropouts.

Table 6, which is based on weighted five-year averages from the 1974-78 Current Population Surveys (CPS) of the Bureau of the Census, arrives at slightly higher estimates for both racial groups: About 30 percent of 20-25-year-old Blacks and 18 percent of 20-25-year-old Whites were neither high school graduates nor enrolled in school at the time of the October survey. The

Table 6

Proportions of High School Dropouts in the 14-25-Year-Old Black and White Populations (Weighted Five-Year Averages, 1974-1978)

	Blacks		Whites	
Age	Sample Number[a]	Proportion of Dropouts	Sample Number[a]	Proportion of Dropouts
14	1,966	1	11,282	1
15	2,033	2	11,467	2
16	1,994	6	11,587	6
17	1,900	12	11,223	10
18	1,671	20	10,673	13
19	1,590	27	10,043	16
20	1,359	27	10,046	18
21	1,335	30	9,990	17
22	1,328	31	9,817	18
23	1,228	32	9,700	18
24	1,200	29	9,786	18
25	1,108	28	9,534	18
Age 20-25:				
Sample number	7,558		58,873	
Mean		29.5		17.8

Source: Current Population Survey Public Use Tapes provided by the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Note: A dropout was defined as any person who, at the time of the survey, was not a high school graduate and was not enrolled in school.

[a] Sample obtained by combining data from five consecutive Current Population Surveys (October surveys, 1974-1978).

Table 7

Regional Differences in Black and White High School Completion Rates and Median Years of Schooling, 1975

	Blacks		Whites	
	Percent Completing High School	Median School Years Completed	Percent Completing High School	Median School Years Completed
Ages 25-34:				
Total U.S.	69	12.4	82	12.8
South	63	12.3	78	12.7
North and West	75	12.5	84	12.8
Age 25 and over:				
Total U.S.	43	10.9	65	12.4
South	33	9.5	60	12.3
North and West	53	12.1	66	12.4

Source: Adapted from Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: A Historical View, 1790-1978. Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 80 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), Tables 70 and 71.

Table 7 also shows regional differences. Residents of the North and West have fared somewhat better educationally than Southerners, and this is particularly true for Blacks. Of those Blacks age 25 and over, only one-third in the South, compared with slightly over half (53 percent) in other regions, had completed high school. The gap between Blacks and Whites in this age group is particularly evident in the South, where Blacks were almost twice as likely as Whites to drop out of school; in the North and West, Blacks were only about one-fifth more likely than Whites to fail to graduate from high school. Regional differences between the races are less apparent in the 25-34-year-old population, reflecting improvements over the last decade or so in the secondary education offered to Blacks living in the South.

In summary, during the 1970s, the proportion of Blacks dropping out of high school prior to graduation continued to decrease. By the last years of the decade, the high school completion rate for Blacks was about 72 percent. The comparable figure for Whites was 83 percent; for the other minorities under consideration (Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians), it was only 55 percent.

College Entry

Of those Blacks who graduated from high school in the 1970s, how many continued on to higher education? Table 8, which is based on aggregate data (1974-78) from the October Current Population Surveys (CPS), shows that about two in five Blacks (41 percent, compared with 45 percent of the Whites) who graduated from high school in June were enrolled in college on a full-time basis the following September.

An alternative estimate comes from the National Longitudinal Study (NLS), conducted by the National Center for Education Statistics, which found that 37 percent of the Blacks (and 45 percent of the Whites) who

Table 8

Proportions of Black and White High School Graduates Enrolled as Full-Time College Students

(Weighted Five-Year Averages)

Number of Years Since High School Graduation[a]	Blacks		Whites	
	Sample Number[b]	Proportion in College	Sample Number[b]	Proportion in College
None	1,143	41	9,477	45
One	1,025	35	8,492	37
Two	1,223	32	10,287	33
Three	1,160	27	9,577	31
Four	1,118	19	9,653	18
Total	5,669		47,486	
Mean		30.8		32.8

Source: Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, October Current Population Surveys, 1974-1978.

[a] Since high school graduation usually takes place in June and the surveys are conducted in October, four months should be added to each value (i.e., one year really means one year plus four months, etc.).

[b] Sample of recent high school graduates obtained by combining data from five consecutive Current Population Surveys (October surveys, 1974-1978).

graduated from high school in 1972 were attending college the following September. In judging which of these figures for Blacks--41 percent or 37 percent--is most accurate, one should bear in mind that the NLS data are based on a single year (1972), whereas the Census data represent a five-year average (1974-78). Thus, the Census data may better reflect increases in the college entry rate for Blacks during the decade. On the other hand, Astin (1982) points out that the Census data are based on the response of "household informants" and consequently may be somewhat inflated: "Because a household informant does not always have up-to-date information on the enrollment status of other household members, he or she may tend to err by indicating that a household member is enrolled as a college student when that person is in fact not enrolled. Similarly, household informants may confuse trade or vocational schools with degree-granting colleges and universities" (pp. 33-34).

Returning to Table 8, we find that, one year after high school graduation, the proprtions attending college full time had dropped to 35 percent for Blacks and 37 percent for Whites. It does not necessarily follow that the attrition rate during the freshman year amounts to 15 percent for Blacks and 18 percent for Whites. The rate could be lower (since some of the students may have switched to part-time enrollment or may be "stopping out" of college temporarily), or it could be higher (since the figures for full-time enrollment are swelled by those who delay entry to college for a year or more). The proportions continue to decline until, in the October four years after high school graduation, only about one in five of the high school graduates (19 percent of the Blacks, 18 percent of the Whites) was attending college full time; it should be noted that undergraduates making "normal" progress would have received the baccalaureate the previous spring. Averaging the proportions over time, we arrive at a college entry rate for Blacks (30.8 percent) that is only slightly lower than that for Whites

(32.8 percent).

The proportions of Blacks and Whites in two different age cohorts who reported having at least some college education are shown in Table 9. Over the seven years of the March CPS, the rate averages 28 percent for Blacks and 41 percent for Whites in the younger cohort; and 28 percent for Blacks and 45 percent for Whites in the 25-29-year-old population. Taking into account the high school dropout rate, we may conclude that, in the 1970s, about two in five of the Blacks (39 percent) and about half of the Whites (47 percent) who were high school graduates enrolled in college.

Another way of examining college entry rates is to estimate the proportion of Blacks among entering college freshman. Different sources yield somewhat different estimates: In the National Longitudinal Study, Blacks constituted 11.5 percent of 1972 college entrants; according to 1976 data from the Office for Civil Rights, they constituted 12 percent of the entering freshman class. Figures from the Cooperative Institutional Research Program (CIRP) are markedly lower: a mean of 7.6 percent in the 1971-73 freshman surveys and a mean of 8.7 percent in the 1975-77 freshman surveys. Since Blacks accounted for about 12 percent of the college-age population (18-22-year-olds) in 1975, and since the NLS and OCR figures would indicate that their representation among entering freshmen was equal to their representation in the population, the more conservative CIRP estimates make better sense (Astin, 1982, pp. 37-39).

CIRP data also provide information on trends over time in the representation of Blacks among entering freshmen. In the early years of the freshman survey (1966-69), Blacks constituted less than 6 percent of first-time, full-time freshmen at the nation's colleges and universities. The figure jumped from 6.2 percent in 1970 to 7.5 percent in 1971, then increased steadily to 8.7 percent in 1976, and fluctuated somewhat in the later years of the decade, rising to 9.2 percent in 1980. Between 1970

Table 9

Proportions of Blacks and Whites of Different Age Cohorts Who Have Attended College

	Year of Survey							Overall College Entry Rates[b]
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
Ages 20-21:[a]								
Blacks	25	29	26	26	32	30	29	39
Whites	41	41	39	42	41	40	41	47
Ages 25-29:								
Blacks	22	24	28	28	31	35	31	
Whites	38	42	43	46	47	48	48	

Source: Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, March Current Population Surveys, 1973-1979.

[a] From 1976 on, data include ages 20-24.

[b] Mean rate adjusted for high school dropout rates (that is, rates show percentage of high school graduates who attend college).

and 1980, the proportionate increase was 48 percent.

In absolute terms, the numbers of 18-21-year-old Blacks enrolled in college increased from 522,000 in 1971 to 665,000 in 1975 (a 27.4 percent increase, compared with an 11.7 percent increase in total college enrollments of 18-21-year-olds). Enrollments grew more slowly over the latter part of the decade, reaching 696,000 for college-age Blacks in 1979 (a 4.6 percent increase from the 1975 figure, compared with an increase of only 0.8 percent for total enrollments). Thus, over the decade (1971-79), black enrollments increased by about a third, whereas total enrollments grew by about an eighth (12.6 percent) (Dearman and Plisko, 1981, p. 148).

In summary, the college enrollment of Blacks rose during the 1970s--in absolute numbers, as a proportion of the college-age black population, and as a proportion of all college enrollments--peaking around 1976 or 1977 and remaining fairly stable after that. To generalize: Of those Blacks who graduate from high school, about two in five (39-41 percent) enter college. This rate is about equal to that for Chicanos (40 percent) but lower than those for Whites (45-47 percent) and Puerto Ricans (about 50 percent). Where Blacks enroll is discussed later in this chapter.

College Completion

According to the National Longitudinal Study, of 1,081 Blacks who graduated from high school in 1972 and entered college the following fall, almost one in four (24 percent) had earned the baccaluareate by 1976. Comparable figures were 34 percent for Whites, 13 percent for Hispanics, and 16 percent for American Indians. In addition, about two in five black college entrants had completed two or more years of college by 1976, and the remainder (36 percent) had completed less than two years of college. Since a body of research shows that undergraduates often take longer than the traditional four years to complete the baccalaureate, it is likely that many of those who had not received the degree by 1976 eventually received the baccalaureate. Indeed, data from the present study show that, of the Blacks who entered college in 1971 and were followed up nine years later, in 1980, about half (50.4 percent; two-thirds of those initially enrolling in four-year colleges and universities, and one-fourth of those initially enrolling in two-year colleges) had graduated from college. (See Chapter 5, Table 19).

Other data on college completion rates come from the Bureau of the Census and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Table 10 shows the proportions of 25-29-year-old Blacks who reported, in the Current Population Surveys (1973-79) having completed four or more years of college; comparable figures are given for Whites. The proportion of Blacks increased from 8 percent in 1973 and 1974 to 11 percent in 1975, then to 13 percent in 1976 and 1977; in 1978 and 1979, it dropped to 12 percent. The proportion of 25-29-year-old Whites completing at least four years of college was about two-and-a-half times that for Blacks in the early part of the decade; as late as 1979, Whites were twice as likely as Blacks to have earned a baccalaureate. Expressing the college completion rate as a percentage of the college entry rate, we may conclude that about two in five of the Blacks who enroll in college (compared with three in five Whites but only three in ten Hispanics) actually attain the baccalaureate. Thus, the college attrition rate for Blacks is about 60 percent. Of course, many students enter college aiming no higher than an associate degree and leave college after fulfilling these aspirations; such students cannot properly be regarded as dropouts.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights presents data separately by sex for the 25-29-year-old population. In 1970, 6 percent of black men and 8 percent of black women in this age cohort had completed at least four years of college; by 1976, the figure had increased to 11 percent for

Table 10

Proportions of 25-29-Year-Old Blacks and Whites Who Have Completed At Least Four Years of College

	Year of Survey							Estimated College Completion Rate Among College Entrants[a]
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
Blacks	8	8	11	13	13	12	12	41.4
Whites	20	22	23	25	25	25	24	58.5

Source: Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Current Population Surveys, 1973-1979.

[a] 1979 figures expressed as a percentage of all students who entered college (Table 9).

both sexes. As reported in Chapter 3, the gender difference was much more pronounced among Whites. In 1976, about one-third (34 percent) of 25-29-year-old white men, but only 22 percent of their female counterparts, had a baccalaureate. Thus, white men were over three times as likely as black men, and white women twice as likely as black women, to have graduated from college (Commission on Civil Rights, 1978, p. 14).

As Table 11 indicates, in 1975, regional differences in college completion rates were slight. Somewhat surprisingly, among 25-34-year-old Blacks, those living in the South were slightly more likely than those in the North and West to have completed at least four years of college, whereas among Whites in this age cohort, the opposite was true. Moreover, the college completion rates of Blacks had increased more in the South (from 6 percent in 1970 to 12 percent in 1975, an increase of 100 percent) than in other regions (from 6 percent in 1970 to 10 percent in 1975, a 67 percent increase). Again, college completion rates were higher for the 25-34-year-old population than for the age-25-and-older population (Bureau of the Census, 1979).

Data from the National Center on Education Statistics give somewhat different national figures on the college completion rates of 25-29-year-old Blacks: 10 percent in 1970, 15.2 percent in 1975, and 15.3 percent in 1978. Nonetheless, the trend is the same as that reported for college enrollments: an increase during the early part of the 1970s, followed by stabilization in the later part of the decade. Thus, Blacks accounted for 6.4 percent of the baccalaureates awarded in 1975-76 and 6.6 percent in 1978-79, a negligible increase.

Participation in Graduate and Professional Education

As Table 12 indicates, the gap between Blacks and Whites with respect to graduate/professional school attendance narrowed somewhat over the decade of the seventies. In 1973, 1.5 percent of 25-29-year-old Blacks,

Table 11

Regional Differences in the Proportions of Two Age Cohorts of Blacks and Whites with At Least Four Years of College, 1975

	Ages 25-34		Age 25 and Over	
	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
Total U.S.	11	22	6	14
South	12	20	6	14
North and West	10	23	7	15

Source: Adapted from Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: A Historical View, 1790-1978. Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 80 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), Table 70 and 71.

Table 12

Proportions of 25-29-Year-Old Blacks and Whites Who Have Attended Graduate or Professional School

	Year of Survey							Estimated Rate of Graduate School Entry Among College Graduates[a]
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
Blacks	1.5	2.4	2.3	4.2	3.9	3.5	4.3	35.8
Whites	7.0	7.4	8.1	8.2	8.6	8.3	8.1	33.8

Source: Current Population Survey Public Use Tapes for October surveys, 1974-1978, provided by the Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce.

[a] 1979 figures expressed as a percentage of all students who completed least four years of college (from Table 10).

compared with 7 percent of Whites in that age group, reported having some training beyond the baccalaureate; by 1979, the figures were 4.3 percent of the Blacks and 8.1 percent of the Whites. Thus, in the early years of the decade, Whites were four times more likely than Blacks to have attended professional school, whereas in 1979, they were only twice as likely. Moreover, comparing the proportions having some advanced training with the proportions receiving the baccalaureate, we find that black college graduates have slightly better graduate school entry rates than white college graduates (see last column).

Table 13 summarizes data on the graduate enrollment and attainment of Blacks, as compared with Whites. Dividing the number of first-year graduate enrollments in fall 1976 by the number of baccalaureates awarded in the previous academic year (1975-76), one arrives at a slightly higher graduate entry rate for Blacks (70 percent) than for Whites (67.4 percent). Of course, these rates are to some extent approximations, since not all students embark on their graduate education directly after receiving the baccalaureate. On the other hand, first-year graduate enrollments are swelled by those who graduated from college in earlier years.

As to graduate degree attainment, Blacks accounted for 6.9 percent of those receiving master's degrees and 4.4 percent of those receiving doctorates in the 1978-79 academic year. Dividing the total number of graduate-degree recipients by the number of first-year graduate enrollments two years earlier, one arrives at a graduate completion rate of 49.8 percent for Blacks and 50.3 percent for Whites. (It would have been preferable to look over a longer time span in calculation doctorate attainment rates, since most students take considerably longer than two years to complete their doctoral work; however, the 1978-79 figures were the most recent available.) In other words, the attrition rate from graduate school is about the same for Blacks and Whites (50 percent), though it should be noted that only

Table 13

Black and White Participation in Graduate Training

	Blacks		Whites		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Baccalaureate recipients, 1975-76	59,187	6.7	811,772	87.6	927,085	100
First-year graduate enrollments, Fal- 1976	41,483	6.4	547,148	84.3	649,125	100
Master's degree recipients, 1978-79	19,393	6.9	249,051	88.8	280,482	100
Doctorate recipients	1,267	4.4	26,128	90.9	28,774	100
Total graduate degree recipients, 1978-79	20,660	6.7	275,179	89.0	309,256	100
Graduate entry rate	70.7		67.4		70.0	
Graduate completion rate	49.8		50.3		47.6	

Sources: Nancy B. Dearman and Valena W. Plisko, The Condition of Education, 1981 Edition (Washington: National Center for Education Statistics, 1981); U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Racial, Ethnic and Sex Enrollment Data from Institutions of Hwgher Education, Fall 1976 (Washington: Office for Civil Rights, 1978).

about 6 percent of the graduate degrees awarded to Blacks, compared with 9.5 percent of those awarded to Whites, were doctorates. The greater propensity of Blacks to earn master's degrees may in part be explained by their concentration in the field of education, where a master's degree is more appropriate than is the case in other fields, especially the natural sciences. (Black representation in various major fields is discussed later in this chapter.)

Precise data on black participation in professional education is difficult to obtain; Table 14 summarizes information for law and the medical professions (medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine). Blacks constituted 10.2 percent of the 1971 freshmen who named prelaw as their intended major and 6.7 percent of those planning to major in premedical curricula. In the fall of 1976, they accounted for 4.6 percent of first-year enrollments in law school and 5.3 percent of first-year enrollments in medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine. In 1978-79, they received 4.3 percent of the law degrees awarded and 4.5 percent of the degrees awarded in the medical professions. Dividing the numbers receiving degrees from the numbers of first-year enrollments, we arrive at a completion rate of 28 percent for Blacks (and 31 percent for Whites) in law and of 22 percent for Blacks (and 26.5 percent for Whites) in medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine. In other words, Blacks were only slightly more likely than Whites to drop out of law and medical schools.

As to trends over time, CPS data show that the proportions of 25-29-year-old Blacks who reported having attended graduate or professional school rose during the 1970s, from 1.5 percent in 1973 to 4.3 percent in 1979, an increase of 187 percent. Among Whites, the increase over the same period was only 16 percent. Nonetheless, in 1979, Whites in the 25-29-year-old cohort were almost twice as likely as Blacks to have at table also shows the proportions of dropouts at younger ages. Up to age 17, Blacks show no greater propensity to leave school than Whites. By age 18, however, 20 percent of the Blacks (but only 13 percent of the Whites) were dropouts. The gap between the races widens up to age 23, then stabilizes for Whites at 18 percent and drops slightly for Blacks from 32 percent of 23-year-olds to 28 percent of 25-year-olds.

The discrepancy between these two data sources illustrates the difficulty involved in calculating high school completion (or attrition) rates precisely. One arrives at different estimates depending on the age ranges considered and the definition of "dropout" used. For instance, according to additional data from the October Current Population Surveys, in 1978, 73 percent of 20-24-year-old Blacks and 77 percent of 25-29-year-old Blacks had completed high school (Astin, 1982, p. 30). The reason that the former figure is lower is that many 20-24-year-old Blacks are probably still in high school; thus, they cannot properly be called dropouts. Generally speaking, however, the more older people included in the range considered, the lower the high school completion rate will be, because of generational differences in length of schooling. Simply put, more recent age cohorts go to school longer. Further, the older one gets, the less likely one is to return to school in order to get a diploma.

These cohort differences are apparent in Table 7: In 1975, over two-thirds (69 percent) of 25-34-year-old Blacks in the U.S., and over four-fifths (82 percent) of their white counterparts, had completed high school. When the age range is expanded to include all persons age 25 and older, the high school completion rate drops: to 43 percent for Blacks and 65 percent for Whites. The gap between the races is much wider in the latter age cohort than in the former, indicating that younger Blacks have had greater opportunities for schooling than their parents did.

Table 14

Black and White Representation in Professional Schools

	Entering Freshmen Fall 1971	Professional Enrollments Fall 1976		Professional Degree Recipients 1975-76	
		N	%	N	%
Law:		116,066	100.0	35,524	100.0
Blacks	10.2	5,339	4.6	1,516	4.3
Whites	83.7	105,260	91.0	32,363	91.8
Medicine, dentistry, and veterinary medicine:		83,601			
Blacks	6.7	4,431	5.3	989	4.5
Whites	88.1	74,752	89.2	19,736	89.8

Sources: Cooperative INstitutional Research Program data tapes for 1971 freshmen; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, Academic Year 1975-76 (Washington: Office for Civil Rights, 1978); U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Racial, Ethnic and Sex Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1976 (Washington: Office for Civil Rights, 1978).

least some graduate or professional school education (8.1 percent, versus 4.3 percent). The proportion of Blacks among doctorate-recipients also increased over the decade: from 2.6 percent in 1973 to 4.1 percent in 1979; the peak year was 1977, when Blacks accounted for 4.3 percent of the doctorates awarded. The proportion of Blacks among first-year medical school enrollments jumped from 2.7 percent in 1968-69 to 7.2 percent in 1971-72; through the remainder of the decade, the proportion remained fairly stable, fluctuating between 6 and 7 percent. The proportion of Blacks among total law school enrollments rose during the early 1970s, peaked at 4.7 percent in 1976-77, then declined slightly (Astin, 1982, pp. 45, 83-85).

In summary, black participation in graduate and professional education increased in the early years of the decade but has stabilized or declined slightly since the mid-1970s. The graduate entry and graduate completion rates of Blacks are about the same as those for Whites, but Blacks are somewhat more likely than Whites to get a master's degree and less likely to attain the doctorate.

Conclusion

Looking at trends in the 1970s, we find that the high school dropout rate of Blacks decreased, while that for Whites increased. Nonetheless, even in 1979, Blacks were less likely than Whites to complete high school. The representation of Blacks among entering freshmen, among baccalaureate-recipients, and among graduate and professional school enrollments and degree-recipients rose during the early 1970s, peaking in 1976 or 1977. Since then, however, little improvement in access or attainment has been registered.

Blacks are increasingly underrepresented, relative to their proportion in the population and relative to Whites, at each higher level of the educational pipeline. Thus, about 72 percent of Blacks (compared with

83 percent of Whites) complete high school; 29 percent of Blacks (compared with 38 percent of Whites) enter college; 12 percent of Blacks (compared with 23 percent of Whites) earn the baccalaureate; 8 percent of Blacks (compared with 14 percent of Whites) enter graduate school; and 4 percent of Blacks (compared with 8 percent of Whites) earn a doctorate or a professional degree. The greatest "leakage" of Blacks occurs during the high school and the college years; both their high school and their undergraduate attrition rates are about one-third higher than the rates for Whites. They are only slightly less likely than Whites to enter college (40 percent of black, compared with 45 percent of white, high school graduates) and slightly more likely to enter advanced training (66 percent of black, compared with 60 percent of white, baccalaureate-recipients). Their attrition from graduate or professional school is somewhat greater than that of Whites (50 percent versus 43 percent) (Astin, 1982, p. 51). On the whole, Blacks succeed at a higher rate than the other three minorities under consideration; only 2 percent of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and American Indians "survive" in the educational pipeline through completion of a graduate or professional degree.

Institutional Distribution

Academic institutions differ in their resources and thus in the quality of the education they offer. Consequently, "a minority student's future may depend as much on the kind of institution attended as on attendance itself" (Astin, 1982, pp. 129-30). If the phrase "equality of opportunity" is to have any meaning beyond simple access to a postsecondary institution of some kind, then the distributions of minority students--including Blacks--among higher education institutions should be roughly the same as that of Whites. This section examines the enrollment patterns of Blacks and considers the implications of these patterns insofar as educational attainment is concerned.

In 1978, Blacks constituted 9.4 percent of all higher education enrollments. Of these more-than-one-million black students, 62 percent (compared with 59 percent of white students and 53 percent of Hispanic students) were enrolled on a full-time basis, and 57 percent (compared with 50 percent of white students and 49 percent of Hispanic students) were women (Dearman and Plisko, 1980, p. 112).

Table 15 shows the institutional distribution, by level and control, of black students, comparing it with that of Whites and of all students (including nonresident aliens). The proportion of Blacks attending public institutions (79.6 percent) was about the same as that of Whites (77.7 percent but was lower than that of Hispanics (86.9 percent) and American Indians (87.9 percent).

Given this heavy concentration in the public sector, it is useful to examine the representation of Blacks in "flagship" universities, defined as "the most prestigious and influential public institutions" within a state. Astin (1982) remarks: "Access to such public institutions is of considerable significance to disadvantaged minorities, since these institutions frequently serve as conduits to positions of power and influence within state government and private industry within the state" (p. 132). Accordingly, in a special analysis undertaken for this project, 65 flagship universities were identified, and black representation in each was ascertained by comparing the proportion of black students in its total undergraduate population with the proportion of black students among total higher education enrollments in the state. (For a fuller discussion of the methodology, see Astin, 1982, pp. 132-34).

The results of this analysis showed that Blacks were underrepresented in 56 of these 65 flagship universities. The greatest absolute discrepancies between actual enrollments and expected enrollments (i.e., the proportion

Table 15

Institutional Distribution of Blacks and Whites, Fall 1978
(percentages)

Type of Institution	Blacks (N=1,054,371)	Whites (N=9,194,031)	Total[a] (N=11.231.172)
Universities:			
Public	9.7	19.7	18.4
Private	4.3	6.5	6.4
Four-year colleges:			
Public	30.6	24.8	25.2
Private	13.5	14.6	14.1
Two-year colleges:			
Public	39.3	33.2	34.5
Private	2.7	1.3	1.4

Source: Nancy B. Dearman and Valena W. Plisko, *The Condition of Education, 1980 Edition* (Washington: National Center for Education Statistics, 1980).

[a] Represents the total headcount for all races of students in the 50 states and the District of Columbia; includes nonresident aliens.

of Blacks among all higher education students in the state) occurred at Mississippi State University (7.6 percent actual enrollment, versus 29.6 percent expected enrollment), Clemson University in South Carolina (1.7 percent versus 22.2 percent), Auburn University in Alabama (1.9 percent versus 22.3 percent), and Louisiana State University (4.7 percent versus 23.3 percent), all in the Deep South. These institutions would have to increase their enrollments of Blacks anywhere from fourfold to tenfold to achieve proportional representation of Blacks. Thus, even with the desegregation of public colleges in the South, Blacks have still not achieved equal access.

In the Midwest and Northeast, the flagship universities where Blacks were most severely underrepresented included the University of Illinois (Urbana), the University of Delaware, the State University of New York at Stony Brook, Michigan State University, and Pennsylvania State University. In the West, they were most severely underrepresented at two University of California campuses: Berkeley and Davis.

At three of the 65 flagship institutions (the University of Massachusetts, Amherst campus; the University of Montanta; and the University of North Dakota), the proportion of Blacks in the undergraduate student body was equal to the proportion of Blacks among all higher education enrollments in the state. The greatest overrepresentation of Blacks occured at the main campus of the University of Pittsburgh, where they accounted for 10.3 percent of undergraduates; their expected proportion (based on their share to total Pennsylvania enrollments) was 7.4 percent. The other five flagship universities at which Blacks were overrepresented (though usually by no more than a few tenths of a percent) were the University of Idaho, the Univeristy of Iowa, the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis-St. Paul campus), the University of Washington, and the University of Wyoming. It should be noted that all these institutions are located outside the South, most of them in states with relatively small black populations. The three with the greatest overrepresentation of Blacks (University of Pittsburgh, University of Washington, and University of Minnesota) are located in urban centers. It should also be noted that "the median (absolute) degree of underrepresentation of Blacks at fifty-six institutions (4.0 percent) is about *forty* times greater than the median overrepresentation of Blacks at six institutions (0.1 percent)" (Astin, 1982, p. 134). By this measure, then, we may conclude that Blacks have come nowhere close to achieving adequate representation in the nation's most prestigious public institutions.

Returning to Table 15, we find that Blacks were more likely than average to be enrolled in public and private two-year colleges and in public four-year colleges and less likely than average to be enrolled in public and private universities. The proportion attending private four-year colleges was only slightly smaller than the proportion of Whites enrolled in such institutions.

The importance of the community colleges in providing access to higher education is demonstrated by the fact that these institutions enroll the largest share of the total student population (34.5 percent) as well as of each of the various groups (with the exception of nonresident aliens) for which the National Center for Education Statistics reports data. Unfortunately, community colleges rank at the bottom of the institutional status hierarchy in the United States. They generally have fewer resources (as measured, for instance, by per-student expenditures for educational and general purposes, for instruction, and for libraries) than do other institutional types, and they do not offer their students the advantages of living on campus. As the results of the longitudinal analyses reported in the next chapter show, "a student's chances of completing a baccalaureate program are substantially reduced if he or she initially enrolls at a community college rather than a four-year institution" (Astin, 1982, pp. 145-46). Thus, the heavy enrollment of minority students in community colleges constitutes a major obstacle to their educational attainment.

It should be noted, however, that Blacks are somewhat less likely to suffer the disadvantage of attending a community college than are other minorities: Only about two in five Blacks (39.3 percent), compared with over half (53 percent) of Hispanics and American Indians, were enrolled in public two-year colleges in the fall of 1978. This difference is in part attributable to the concentration of Hispanics and Indians in states with well-developed status hierarchies in public higher education and thus with strong community colleges systems. An equally important factor is the existence of the historically black colleges (HBCs), which in the past were instrumental in providing Blacks with access to higher education.

As was pointed out in Chapter 2 (see Table 1), of the 100 HBCs indentified as still predominantly black in the fall of 1978 (National Advisory Committee, 1980), only two were universities, and sixteen were two-year colleges. The remainder were four-year colleges, the majority of them private institutions. Thus, close to half of the HBCs were private four-year colleges, and in 1978, they enrolled one-third of the Blacks attending private four-year colleges and 28 percent of the Blacks attending HBCs (see Table 16).

Table 16 shows the institutional distribution of Blacks, by race of institution (historically black colleges, new predominantly black colleges, and other institutions), in the fall of 1978. Clearly, the HBCs no longer enroll the majority of black college students; in 1978, they accounted for 16.5 percent of total black enrollments. The new predominantly black colleges (most of which are public two-year colleges) accounted for 12.9 percent of total black enrollments. Generally, the 1970s saw a proportionate decrease in black enrollment in HBCs, and a concomitant increase in black enrollments in NPBCs. Thus, the HBCs are threatened with enrollment drops and, faced with severe financial problems, may be struggling for their very existence.

In response to an inquiry from Secretary of Education Bell, the National Advisory Committee (1981) recently drew up a list of "illustrative examples of the unique services rendered by the historically black colleges." By no means exhaustive, the list included the following items:

--Tuskegee Institute graduated 85 percent of the Black veterinarians in 1976 and 1977.

--Atlanta University graduated 92 percent of Black master's recipients and 18 percent of all master's recipients in biological sciences in Georgia in 1979.

--Howard University graduated almost a quarter of all Black physical sciences doctorates who earned degrees in 1979.

--Texas Southern University graduated two-thirds of the Black lawyers in Texas in 1977.

--Alabama A & M University and Tuskegee Institute produced all of the master's degrees in architecture/environmental design awarded in Alabama in 1979.

--Southern University, Baton Rouge, graduated 5 percent of the Black engineering baccalaureates awarded nationwide in 1979.

--Four Black institutions, Howard and Fisk Universities, Morehouse and Oakwood Colleges, produced 259, or 10 percent, of the total number of Black applicants to medical school in 1979 and each supplied more than the 32 which came from the largest predominantly white institution.

--Meharry Medical College and Howard University together produced 22 percent of all Black doctors and 40 percent of all Black dentists in 1977. (National Advisory Committee, 1981)

Representation by Field

Blacks (and other minorities) continue to be underrepresented in major fields associated with high-status occupations, especially in the natural sciences and engineering. Table 17 shows the proportion of Blacks among all students in each of eight major field categories (allied health, arts and humanities, biological science, business, education, engineering, physical science and mathematics, and social science) at four levels of the higher education pipeline (freshman class, baccalaureate attainment, master's degree attainment, and doctorate attainment). (For a detailed description of the major field categories and the data sources, see Astin, 1982, pp. 52-57).

Generally speaking--and consistent with the increasing underrepresentation of Blacks at each higher degree level--the proportion of Blacks declines steadily from college entry to doctorate attainment within a given major field of category. For example, Blacks constituted about 7 percent of all 1971 freshmen naming one of the biological sciences as their intended major field, apporximately 4 percent of the 1975-76 baccalaureate-recipients in biological science, approximately 3 percent of the 1978-79 master's degree recipients, and only 1.5 percent of those receiving doctorates in biological science in 1978-79. This pattern of steady decline is repeated in the fields of business, engineering, and the physical sciences/mathematics.

At the freshman level, Blacks were best represented in social science (where they constituted 13.9 percent of those 1971 entering students who named one of the social sciences as their probable major), business (12.9 percent), allied health (10.8 percent), and education (10.5 percent). Four years later, in 1975-76, Blacks constituted 6.7 percent of all baccalaureate-recipients in the eight major field categories covered in this analysis but only 5 percent or fewer of those receiving a bachelor's degree in engineering, physical science/mathematics, biological science, arts and humanities, and allied health. The proportion of Blacks among

Table 17

Representation of Blacks in Eight Major Fields at Different Levels
(percentages)

Major Field	Entering Freshmen Fall 1971	Baccalaureate Recipients 1975-76	Master's Degree Recipients 1978-79	Doctorate Recipients 1978-79
Allied health	10.8	5.1	5.3	3.1
Arts and humanities	7.8	4.6	3.6	3.5
Biological science	6.9	4.3	3.4	1.5
Business	12.9	6.7	4.7	2.6
Education	10.5	9.1	9.9	8.6
Engineering	6.0	3.2	2.2	1.5
Physical science, mathematics	6.1	4.0	2.2	1.9
Social science	13.9	8.4	8.4	4.7

Source: Cooperative Institutional Research Program data tapes for 1971 freshmen; U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Racial, Ethnic and Sex Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1976 (Washington: Office for Civil Rights, 1978); U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, Academic Year 1975-76 (Washington: Office for Civil Rights, 1978).

baccalaureate-recipients in business was the same as their proportion among all baccalaureate-recipients in the eight fields, and they were overrepresented among those earning baccalaureates in education and social science. The proportionate loss during the undergraduate years was greatest in allied health (where Blacks constituted 11 percent of freshmen naming this choice but only 5 percent of baccalaureate-recipients), business (from 13 percent to 7 percent), and engineering (from 6 percent to 3 percent). Of course, this loss does not mean that close to half the Blacks naming these fields as their probable major dropped out of college; many of them simply "defected" from their initial major field choice to some other field.

The overall representation of Blacks at the master's-degree level was slightly higher (7.2 percent) than at the baccalaureate level (6.7 percent). In other words, Blacks were somewhat more likely than average to enroll in graduate school and to earn the master's degree. Thus, it is not surprising that in two fields--allied health and education--the proportion of Blacks among master's degree-recipients was slightly higher than the proportion among baccalaureate-recipients. The sharpest declines occurred in engineering and in physical science/mathematics.

Blacks constituted 4.6 percent of all 1978-79 doctorate-recipients in the eight major field categories covered. They were best represented among those earning doctorates in education (8.6 percent) and social science (4.7 percent). However, they accounted for less than 3 percent of doctorate-recipients in biological science, business, engineering, and physical science/mathematics.

Over the span covered--from freshman preference to doctorate attainment--the proportionate loss of Blacks was greatest in the major field categories of business, biological science, engineering, allied health, and physical science/mathematics. It was least severe in education (where Blacks accounted for 10.1 percent of all the freshmen naming this choice, 9.1 percent of those actually earning a baccalaureate in education, 9.9 percent of the master's degrees awarded, and 8.6 percent of the doctorates awarded).

Table 18 looks at these data from a different angle, showing the distribution of Blacks among the eight major field categories at each level and comparing it with the distribution of Whites. Among Blacks who entered college in 1971, the most popular choices were social science (named as a probable major by about one in five black freshmen), business (named by 15.6 percent), and arts and humanities (named by 11.5 percent). Interestingly, white freshmen also preferred these three fields, though the order was slightly different: arts and humanities was their top-ranked choice, followed by social science and business. Least popular were biological science (named as a probable major by only 2.6 percent of black freshmen and 3.5 percent of white freshmen) and physical science/mathematics (3.3 percent of black freshmen, 5.1 percent of white freshmen).

At the baccalaureate level, the social sciences dominated (accounting for 29.6 percent of the degrees awarded to Blacks and 22.2 percent of those awarded to Whites in 1975-76), followed by education and business. Again, the rank-ordering of the eight fields (that is, their relative popularity) was the same for both races, and it remains roughly the same at the master's degree and doctorate levels, although the proportions of Blacks and Whites in a given major field differ, often drastically. Blacks become more heavily concentrated in certain fields, whereas Whites are more evenly distributed among the eight fields.

Thus, though only about one in ten black (and white) freshmen said they planned to major in education, approximately one in four Blacks (but only 16.7 percent of the Whites) actually got a baccalaureate in education; over half (55.8 percent) of the black master's-degree-recipients, and half of the black doctorate-recipients (but only 37.7 percent of the Whites earning master's degrees and only 24.2 percent of those earning doctorates)

Table 18

Distribution of Blacks and Whites Among Eight Major Fields at Different Levels

(percentages)

	Entering Freshmen Fall 1971		Baccalaureate Recipients 1975-76		Master's Degree Recipients 1978-79		Doctorate Recipients 1978-79	
Major Field	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites	Blacks	Whites
Allied health	11.2	9.6	4.6	6.0	4.1	5.4	1.6	2.3
Arts and humanities	11.5	13.6	10.3	14.8	4.1	8.2	9.1	11.8
Biological science	2.6	3.5	3.9	6.0	1.1	2.4	3.7	11.4
Business	15.6	11.5	16.1	15.4	11.1	16.7	1.4	2.5
Education	11.2	9.9	24.0	16.7	55.8	37.7	49.3	24.2
Engineering	4.6	7.1	2.3	4.8	1.3	4.0	2.0	5.4
Physical science, mathematics	3.3	5.1	2.4	4.1	0.8	2.7	4.8	11.2
Social science	19.9	13.3	29.6	22.2	16.8	13.5	21.6	20.5

Sources: Same as Table 17.

took the degree in education. Blacks were somewhat more likely than Whites to earn their bachelor's and their master's degree in social science; about one-fifth of both races received their doctorate in social science. Blacks and whites are about equally likely to receive a baccalaureate in business; but 16.7 percent of white master's-degree-recipients, compared with 11.1 percent of black master's-degree-recipients, had majored in business. (The proportions receiving doctorates in business were small, since a doctoral degree is not essential to a career in business; the same is true for allied health, a field in which relatively few doctorates are awarded.) Whites were about twice as likely as Blacks to earn their master's degree in arts and humanities (8.2 percent versus 4.1 percent), but the gap had closed slightly at the doctoral level (9.1 percent of the Blacks and 11.8 percent of the Whites received their doctorate in arts and humanities).

Besides the heavier concentration of Blacks in education, as already noted, the greatest discrepancies between Blacks and Whites occur in the natural sciences and engineering. These discrepancies, already evident at the freshman level, become greater at each higher degree level. Among master's-degree- and doctoral-recipients, the proportions of Whites in these fields are from two to three times greater than the proportions of Blacks. Moreover, Blacks were less likely than were the other minority groups under consideration in this study to get advanced degrees in science and engineering (see Astin, 1982, pp. 64-65). For instance, in 1978-79, approximately 8 percent of American Indians and 7 percent of Hispanics, but only 5 percent of Blacks, who attained the doctorate got their degree in physical science/mathematics. As freshmen, however, Blacks were more likely than were Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, or American Indians to plan on majors in allied health, physical science/mathematics, and business. Their greater tendency to major in education appears at the baccalaureate level and persists through the graduate degrees.

Several factors may be cited to account for the marked preference on Blacks for the field of education and their apparent aversion to the natural sciences and engineering. The first is the relatively large proportion of women among black degree-recipients. Thus in 1975-76, women accounted for 57 percent of all the baccalaureates, 62 percent of all the master's degrees, and 36 percent of all the doctorates awarded to Blacks (U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1978a). Education has traditionally been regarded as a "female" field, whereas the sciences and engineering are male-typed choices. Second, the existence of the black colleges may play a role in these preferences. That is, most students (including Blacks) are aware of the current shortage of teaching jobs both in higher education and in the lower schools; but Blacks may assume that teaching jobs will be available to them at the black colleges and thus may be less hesitant about getting a degree in education than are those from other racial/ethnic backgrounds, who seek degrees in fields that will offer them more job options. Finally, the relative difficulty of various major fields may be a factor. Using data on the college admission test scores and intended major fields of a national sample of high school seniors in 1974-75, Astin (1982) found that, for all racial/ethnic groups, the seniors planning to major in physical science/mathematics, engineering, or biological science tended to make much higher scores than those planning other majors: "Students with the lowest test scores. . . .are strongly oriented toward education and, to a lesser extent, business and the arts and humanities" (Astin, 1982, p. 73). Thus, the poor educational preparation that many Blacks (and other minorities) receive in elementary and high school may limit their choice of a major (and, ultimately, of a career) by leading them to prefer relatively undemanding disciplines.

Summary

During the 1970s, as the national economy took a downward turn, there developed a marked hostility toward minority efforts to achieve equality in education and employment. This hostility was evident not only among working-class Whites, fearful of competition for jobs and other resources, but also among many affluent and well-educated Whites, reacting against the liberalism of the 1960s. The new conservatism emphasized genetic theories of intelligence, belief in "pseudomeritocratic" ideas, and the apparent failure of government interventions to solve social problems. The Bakke case--which involved a charge of "reverse discrimination" directed against the University of California, Davis, medical school because of its special minority admission program-- was a manifestation of this hostility.

Despite the changing mood of the country, Blacks continued to make some progress with respect to educational attainment, at least until the later years of the decade. Their high school attrition rates dropped, and their college entry and completion rates increased, as did the proportions continuing on to graduate and professional school and receiving advanced degrees. Nonetheless, Blacks continue to be underrepresented at each higher level of the educational pipeline. In particular, they are much more likely than Whites to drop out of high school and college. Their underrepresentation is not as severe, however, as that of other disadvantaged minorities (Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians).

Differences in the educational attainment of the different racial/ ethnic groups is both reflected in and explained by differences in their enrollment patterns. Thus, Blacks are much less likely than are Whites to attend the "flagship" institutions of state public education systems and private universities. On the other hand, they are less likely than are Hispanics and American Indians to be enrolled in community colleges (which generally have negative effects on persistence) and more likely to be enrolled in private four-year college, many of them historically black institutions. Though the total share of black students enrolled in the historically black colleges had dropped to 17 percent in 1978, these institutions continue to play a vital role in the higher education of Blacks. The Adams litigation--initiated by the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP to speed up desegregation in public education and opposed by other black organizations--may ultimately threaten the survival of the historically black colleges.

In addition to being underrepresented, relative to Whites, at the higher levels of the educational pipeline and in the more prestigious public and private institutions--Blacks are underrepresented in the natural sciences and engineering and overrepresented in the field of education and, to a lesser extent, in the social sciences.

CHAPTER 5

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF BLACKS

A major focus of this project on the status of minorities in higher education was an analysis of the factors that influence educational attainment and development. An understanding of the personal and environmental characteristics related to achievement in higher education is essential in formulating recommendations that will promote minority progress in academe and facilitate access to a wide variety of social benefits. It is particularly important to identify the collegiate settings and experiences associated with desirable educational outcomes, since such information can be used by minority students and their parents, teachers, and counselors in choosing a college and by policymakers and educators in changing the institutional environment and initiating policies and practices designed to optimize student achievement.

For the purpose of identifying the relevant factors, a series of regression analyses was undertaken, based on two longitudinal data files. The first, of 1975 freshmen followed up in 1977, had been created for an earlier HERI study of the impact of financial aid on persistence over the first two years of college (Astin, Cross, and Porter, 1979). The second file, created specifically for this project on minorities in higher education, involved a national sample entering college as freshmen in the fall of 1971 and followed up nine years later, in 1980. Only those who had initially aspired to at least a baccalaureate were included in the sample for these analyses.

The sample of 1971 freshmen originally selected for the 1980 follow-up included all American Indians, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, approximately half of the Blacks, and approximately 10 percent of the Whites who had participated in the 1971 freshman survey of the Cooperative Institutional

Research Program (CIRP). Members of this follow-up sample were mailed a four-page questionnaire which contained items on their educational and occupational experiences and current status. Because the rate of response to this mailed questionnaire was low (about 20 percent of the total follow-up sample and about 12 percent of the Blacks), two additional procedures were employed. First, the names of nonrespondents were given to a commercial survey research firm (Chilton Research Services, based in Chicago), with a request that it contact them by telephone and conduct brief interviews which included critical questions about educational progress. Second, rosters of names of nonrespondents to the questionnaire were sent out to the institutions which the subjects had entered in 1971. Each institution was asked to provide the following information about each person listed on the roster: highest degree earned, number of years enrolled, and whether or not a transcript had ever been forwarded to one or more other institutions.

Approximately 1,300 Blacks returned follow-up questionnaire forms that could be used in the analyses; this group is termed the "limited sample." An additional 795 Blacks were contacted by telephone, and basic data on 867 more were collected through the institutional rosters. The "extended sample" was divided into three subgroups for purposes of analysis: (1) all entrants (which includes the limited sample, plus all those Blacks contacted in the telephone follow-up); (2) two-year-college entrants (which includes only those who entered two-year colleges in 1971 from the limited sample, from those contacted in the telephone follow-up, and from those for whom the freshman institutions provided information); and (3) four-year-college entrants (which includes only those who entered four-year colleges and universities in 1971 from the limited sample, from those contacted in the telephone follow-up, and from those for whom the freshman institutions provided data). The numbers involved in each of these subsamples of Blacks were as follows:

1975-77 : 2,779
1971-80 limited : 1,287
1971-80 extended
All entrants : 2,082
2-year-college entrants: 513
4-year-college entrants: 2,436

The method of analysis was a two-step multiple regression. For each outcome investigated, students' input characteristics were controlled before any attempt was made to access the effects of environmental variables. These initial controls are necessary because students entering different institutions may not be comparable; that is, different types of colleges enroll different types of students. In effect, controlling for student input characteristics statistically "matches" students entering different types of institutions and thus permits a clearer assessment of how different college characteristics and experiences affect students.

A variey of outcomes were examined in these longitudinal analyses. For the 1975-77 sample, the three outcomes of interest were persistence, cumulative grade average, and satisfaction over the first two years of college. For the 1971-80 limited sample, the outcomes included persistence (baccalaureate completion), undergraduate grade average, satisfaction with the undergraduate college, graduate attainment, and final career choice. Outcome measures for the 1971-80 extended sample were persistence among two-year-college entrants, persistence among entrants to four-year colleges and universities, and general persistence (all entrants). (For a fuller description of the outcome measures, see Astin, 1982, Appendix B.)

In the remainder of this chapter, findings are presented first for the student input variables, then for the environmental variables. The final section summarizes the results for the three most important dependent (outcome) variable.[1]

Student Input Factors

The student input variables used in the longitudinal analyses can be grouped into four categories: academic preparation; demographic characteristics and family background; plans and expectations; and other student characteristics.

Academic Preparation

Performance in high school was consistenly and strongly related to performance in college among Blacks. Thus, high school grade average was by far the most important predictor of college grade average for both the 1975-77 sample and the 1971-80 limited sample and of persistence over the first two years of college for the 1975-77 sample. High school grades and rank in graduating class also predicted persistence for the other samples of Blacks. Other indicators of outstanding performance in high school as well were positively related to some of the outcomes: For instance, Blacks who had been members of a scholastic honor society in high school tended to make good grades and to be satisfied with college, and those who had won recognition in the National Merit Scholarship contest were likely to persist and to pursue careers as lawyers.

Academic aptitude, as measured by scores on standard admissions tests (Scholastic Aptitude Test, American College Test), was a significant predictor of persistence and of college grades for the 1975-77 sample only; and the relationship was weak compared with relationship for high school grades.

Black students who felt that their high schools had prepared them well in foreign languages and in mathematics were inclined to feel satisfied with their colleges at the end of their second undergraduate year. Those who had a relatively strong background in science (as measured by the number of years of science in high school) tended to make good grades in college. On the other hand, those who entered college feeling that they would probably need tutoring or remedial work in mathematics were somewhat likely to drop out before baccalaureate completion.

---

[1] The detailed results of the regression analyses can be obtained at cost by writing to the Higher Education Research Institute, Graduate School of Education, 405 Hilgard Ave., UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

Good study habits have some bearing on college performance. For instance, Blacks who indicated that they had frequently studied in the library while in high school tended to persist, whereas those who said that they had frequently failed to complete a homework assignment on time tended to drop out. For the 1975-77 sample, feeling well prepared in study skills was associated with satisfaction, while feeling a need for remediation in study skills was negatively related to grades.

Finally, Blacks who attended high schools with a high proportion of minority students did less well in college than those from high schools where the percentage of minority students was relatively low: The proportion of minority students in the high school was negatively related to persistence, grades, and satisfaction for the 1971-80 limited sample. Thus, in addition to any disadvantagement they suffer because of their relatively low socioeconomic status, many black undergraduates may face special difficulties in college because they come from segregated lower schools.

Demographic Characteristics and Family Background

A body of previous research indicates a consistent relationship between gender and college performance, with women tending to make better grades than men, and this sex difference held true for the present sample. In addition, black women were more likely to persist and to feel satisfied with the college experience than were their male counterparts.

Age was negatively related to persistence, with older black students being more likely to drop out prior to baccalaureate completion. This tendency may be related to delayed education rates; that is, students who have fallen behind their modal grade in high school and who are thus older than average at college entry may be more likely to get bored or discouraged with their undergraduate studies. On the other hand, being married at the time of college entry positively predicted both grades and satisfaction for the 1971-80 limited sample.

The higher the parental income, the more likely the black student was to persist in college; parental income was also postively associated with satisfaction for the 1975-77 sample. Since Blacks (and other minorities) often come from low-income backgrounds, this relationship underscores the difficulties that many minority students face in college, a difficulty that has apparently not been solved by the financial aid and other special programs designed to compensate for the disadvantages associated with low socioeconomic status.

Similarly, the better educated the parents, the more likely the black student was to persist in college, although the mother's educational level was negatively associated with satisfaction for the 1975-77 sample. Parental occupation was only moderately related to most of the outcomes studied, however, except for the final career choice of medical professional: Black students who, at the time of the 1980 follow-up, said they were working as medical professionals (physicians, dentists, veterinarians, optometrists) or that they planned such career were more likely than those with other career choices to have fathers who were medical professionals.

Plan and Expectations

The 1971 freshman questionnaire asked respondents to indicate their intended major field of study and their probable career. Not surprisingly, these initial choices turned out to be the best predictors of career choice nine years later. For instance, Blacks pursuing careers as engineers in 1980 were likely to have named that career choice as freshmen and those pursuing careers as allied health professionals were likely to say as freshmen that they planned to major in an allied health field. Relationships between freshman plans and the other outcomes investigated are discussed in the section on evnironmental variables.

Freshmen were also asked to estimate the likelihood of other occurrences during college, and their expectations proved to be related to actuality. Thus, black students who felt they had a very good chance of making at least a B average were likely to make good grades in college, whereas those who expected to be satisfied with college were likely to express satisfaction later on. Expecting to drop out of college temporarily or permanently was negatively related to persistence. Among two-year-college entrants in the extended sample, expecting to transfer to another institution prior to graduation was related to baccalaureate completion. For the 1975-77 sample, expecting to need counseling for personal problems was positively related to persistence but negatively related to satisfaction.

Other Student Characteristics

A number of independent variables involving self-concept, attitudes, goals, and behavior were found to be related to the outcomes. For instance, Blacks who rated themselves high on academic ability and on public speaking ability were likely to make good grades in college. It is important to note that these relationships were significant even after control for other variables indicative of academic ability (e.g., high school grades, aptitude test scores). Thus, the student's perception of being academically able is important, independent of actual ability. Moreover, a high self-rating on drive to achieve was positively related to persistence and satisfaction, a high self-rating on popularity was positively related to satisfaction, and a high self-rating on social self-confidence predicted a final career choice of businessperson.

Blacks who, as freshmen, agreed that the chief benefit of a college education is to increase one's earning power were likely to drop out of college. Agreement with the statement that all public institutions should have open-admissions policies was negatively related to persistence among two-year-college entrants in the extended sample and negatively related to satisfaction for the 1971-80 limited sample.

Giving high priority to artistic goals (i.e., achievement in the performing arts, creative writing, or the graphic arts) was negatively related to persistence and satisfaction for the 1975-77 sample. Perhaps many artistically inclined black students are initially disappointed with college because it does not give them scope to use their particular talents.

Finally, those Blacks who as freshmen indicated that they were cigarette smokers were less successful in college than were non-smokers; that is, smoking cigarettes was negatively related to persistence, grades, and satisfaction among Blacks. This relationship, though it may seem trivial and inexplicable, is consistent with a body of previous research (Astin, 1977; Dvorak, 1967; Pumroy, 1967) and thus cannot be ignored. Astin (1982) remarks:

> the reasons for the association are not clearly understood. Smoking may be a symptom of rebelliousness and nonconformity--traits directly associated with dropping out. Smoking may directly interfere with concentration or produce physiological stress that interferes with the ability to study or to conform to the academic and social demands of college. (p. 97)

In support of the first of these hypotheses, it should be noted that three other behavioral items that suggest rebelliousness and nonconformity--staying up all night, oversleeping and missing a class or appointment, and failing to complete a homework assignment on time--were also negatively related to persistence in these analyses. That is, Blacks who indicated on the freshman questionnaire that they engaged in these behaviors frequently while in high school were more likely than average to drop out before completing the baccalaureate.

Environmental Factors

The environmental variables used in these analyses can be grouped into six categories: institutional type (control, level, and race); institutional quality; other institutional characteristics; field of study; sources of finance; and freshman residence.

Institutional Type

Table 19 shows the baccalaureate completion rates of Blacks entering different types of institutions in 1971; for purposes of comparison, figures for Whites are also given. Slightly over half the Blacks who entered college in 1971 planning to get at least a baccalaureate had actually received a bachelor's degree by 1980; this figure is higher than that for any other minority group but slightly lower than that for Whites. Clearly, those Blacks enrolling as freshmen in four-year colleges and universities were substantially more likely to complete college than were those who initially enrolled in two-year colleges, and the same difference in completion rates was observed among Whites (and among other minorities). Moreover, close to two-thirds of the Blacks who entered black colleges in 1971 had earned a baccalaureate by the time of the follow-up.

The results of the regression analyses indicate that these differences in baccalaureate completion rates are in part attributable to differential institutional effects. Table shows the partial correlations between institutional type and persistence, after student input variables have been controlled. Although the effects of some types of institutions are mixed, enrolling as a freshman in a public two-year college clearly increases the black student's chances of dropping out. As was pointed out in Chapter 3,

Table 19

Baccalaureate Completion Rates of Blacks and Whites at Different Types of Institutions

(percentages)

Freshman Institution	Blacks	Whites
All institutions	50.9	55.6
Universities	68.0	73.3
Four-year colleges	66.6	72.7
Two-year colleges	24.4	29.0
Black institutions	64.8	---

Note: Rates based on those who, when they entered college as freshmen in 1971, said they planned to get at least a baccalaureate.

Table 20

Institutional Type and Quality Variables Affecting Persistence Among Blacks
(Partial Correlations After Control of Student Input Variables)

Variable	1975-77 Sample (N=2,779)	1971-80 Limited Sample (N=1,287)	1971-80 Extended Sample		
			All Entrants (N=2,082)	2-Year College Entrants (N=513)	4-Year College Entrants (N=2,436)
Institutional type:					
Public university					
Private university			-.05		
Public four-year college					
Private four-year college	-.04		.04		
Public two-year college	-.06	-.11	-.06	-.14	
Private two-year college		-.05		.14	
Black college	.14				
Institutional quality:					
Prestige			.05		.09
Selectivity			.08	.09	.09
Per-student expenditures for educational and general purposes			.05		.08
Tuition			.02		.04
Student-faculty ratio		-.07	-.07		

Note: Only significant (p .05) partial correlations are reported.

the negative impact of the community college on persistence is a particular problem because of the concentration of minorities in such institutions.

Though not shown in the table, attending a private two-year college was positively associated with both grades and satisfaction for the 1975-77 sample; and attending a public university was negatively related to grades for the 1971-80 limited sample. Those Blacks who initially enrolled in black colleges were likely to get higher grades than Blacks entering predominantly white institutions but were less likely to persist in college and be satisfied with the college experience.

The freshman institution also had some effects on final career choice. Thus, attending a public four-year college was positively related to pursuing a career as an elementary or high school teacher but negatively related to pursuing a career in business or nursing. Attendance at a private university predicted a final career choice of lawyer, and attendance at a private four-year college predicted a final career choice of college teacher.

Institutional Quality

Among the environmental variables used in the longitudinal analyses were several measures traditionally associated with institutional quality: selectivity (as measured by the average academic ability of entering freshmen), prestige (an index combining selectivity and enrollment size), per-student expenditures for educational and general purposes, tuition, and student-faculty ratio (which is inversely related to quality). As Table 20 shows, these quality measures were consistently related to persistence for all entrants and for entrants to four-year colleges and universities in the 1971-80 extended sample. For two-year-college entrants, only selectivity was positively associated with baccalaureate completion among Blacks; the other measures had negligible, or negative but nonsignificant, partial correlations with persistence. According to Astin

(1982), "one obvious reason that quality shows a different pattern of relationships among two-year college students is that two-year colleges tend to score very low on most traditional quality measures and also to show less variability on such measures than the four-year colleges" (p. 103). The quality measures also positively predicted graduate attainment (completion or current pursuit of a graduate or professional degree) among Blacks. The implication of these findings is clear: Blacks (and other minorities) stand a better chance of completing a baccalaureate and continuing on for advanced training if they initially enroll in an institution of high quality, as indicated by traditional quality measures.

The quality measures had only scattered relationships with other outcomes. Attending a highly selective institution had a strong negative impact on grades for the 1975-77 sample; this finding makes sense in view of the heavy competition that students face in selective institutions, which by definition enroll freshmen of superior academic ability. In addition, attending a high-cost institution was positively related to a final career choice of lawyer or medical professional but negatively related to a final career choice of nurse.

Other Institutional Characteristics

The location of the freshman institution had some relationship to the outcomes investigated. Blacks who entered colleges in the Northeast tended to persist to baccalaureate completion, to make good grades, and to be satisfied with their college experience. Astin (1982) suggests that colleges in the Northeast may be "more sophisticated and progressive in dealing with the special needs of Black students because of the high concentration of Blacks in that region of the country and the liberal tradition of the Northeast in the area of civil rights" (p. 105). Attending an institution in the Far West was positively related to persistence among two-year-college entrants in the 1971-80 extended sample and to persistence and grade average among Blacks in the 1971-80 limited sample. Those Blacks in the 1975-77 sample who as freshmen entered institutions in the Southeast tended to make low grades and to be dissatisfied with college.

Blacks in the 1971-80 extended sample who enrolled in two-year colleges with a relatively high proportion of women on the faculty had some tendency to drop out. For Blacks in the 1971-80 limited sample, attending a Protestant institution was positively associated with grades and with a final career choice of allied health professional but negatively associated with satisfaction. A final career choice of allied health professional was also positively related to attending a men's college or an institution with a large proportion of graduate students, whereas a final career choice of engineer was negatively associated with attending a women's college.

Field of Study

As was indicated earlier, intended major field of study, as reported on the freshman questionnaire, can be regarded as a student input variable, since it is a characteristic that the freshman brings with him/her to college. Insofar as students actually end up majoring in their intended fields, these variables can also be regarded as environmental factors. A body of research shows that different major fields constitute important subenvironments within the overall institutional environment and that the characteristics of the subenvironments may have a significant impact on the individuals exposed to them.

In the present analyses, Blacks who majored in the natural sciences or engineering were found to make relatively low grades, whereas those majoring in education, social sciences, or arts and humanities tended to make relatively high grades. Since other student input variables measuring academic ability were controlled, the implication is that these differential effects are attributable to differences in the difficulty and rigorousness of various subjects; courses in the sciences are simply more demanding academically than courses in other fields.

In addition, majoring in prelaw was negatively related to persistence, majoring in engineering was negatively related to satisfaction, and majoring in nursing was positively related to satisfaction, among Blacks in the 1971-80 limited sample.

Sources of Finance

Respondents to the 1971 freshman questionnaire were asked to indicate their anticipated sources of finance for their college education; however, because the list of options was limited and because most federal financial aid programs for college students did not begin operation until the mid-1970s, the results of these analyses are somewhat ambiguous and difficult to interpret. For instance, reliance on parental or family aid was negatively associated with satisfaction for the 1975-77 sample, whereas reliance on savings was positively associated with grades for the 1971-80 limited sample.

Generally speaking, past research has indicated that support from scholarships and grants has a positive impact on desirable student outcomes, whereas reliance on loans has a negative impact. Participation in a work-study program seems to facilitate persistence, especially if the job is located on campus and provided that it entails no more than 20 hours per week. (For a fuller discussion of the impact of financial aid, see Astin, 1982, pp. 108-09).

Freshman Residence

The literature on college impact indicates that living on campus (for instance, in college residence halls) generally has beneficial effects on students, probably because such residential arrangements enable them to become more involved in campus life (see Astin, 1975, 1977; Chickering, 1974). Findings from the present analyses were somewhat mixed in that those Blacks in the 1971-80 sample who said that their freshman institution was located more than 50 miles from their homes (and who thus presumably lived on campus) were more likely to persist, whereas those who indicated that they would live at home during their freshman year were more likely to be satisfied with college.

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings to emerge from longitudinal analyses of the effects of various student input and environmental factors on a number of outcomes. This final section summarizes the results for the three most important outcome measures: persistence, grades, and satisfaction.

Blacks are most likely to persist in college to baccalaureate completion if they come from a relatively high socio-economic background, attend an integrated high school, make good grades in high school, perform well on aptitude tests, and develop good study habits. Those who enter college feeling that they will need remedial work in mathematics and who exhibit nonconformist or rebellious behavior in high school (smoking, staying up all night, oversleeping and missing classes or appointments, failing to complete homework assignments on time) are likely to drop out. A freshman career choice of elementary or secondary school teacher and an intended major in the social sciences are associated with persistence. Blacks have a better chance of completing the baccalaureate if they initially enroll in four-year colleges or universities (rather than community colleges), especially high-quality institutions located in the Northeast region of the United States.

A high undergraduate grade average in associated with making good grades in high school, being female, attending an integrated high school, and expecting to make a B average or higher. Blacks who see themselves as outstanding in academic ability and public speaking ability are also likely to perform well in college. Attending a black college and majoring in social sciences, education, or arts and humanities are associated with good grades, whereas attending a highly selective college and majoring in the natural sciences or engineering are associated with relatively poor grades.

Blacks who enter college expecting to be satisfied with the college experience are likely to be satisfied. The environmental variables associated with satisfaction include attending a two-year college, majoring in nursing, and living at home.

CHAPTER 6

EXPERIENCES AND INSIGHTS OF BLACK PROFESSIONALS

Blacks who have attained advanced degress and taken positions of influence and responsibility can offer valuable insights, based on their own experiences, into those factors in the higher educational system and in the general society that contributed to their achievement or that constituted obstacles. Two surveys, conducted especially for this study, produced such data: One tapped the opinions of minority academic personnel (faculty, administrators, and counselors), and the other collected information on the experiences of recipients of Ford Foundation Graduate Fellowships. This chapter summarizes relevant findings from these two surveys.

Survey of Minority Academic Personnel

The survey of minority academic personnel involved two questionnaires: The first was open-ended in format, the intention being to encourage respondents to write fully and freely about their views and experiences. Responses to this first questionnaire were coded and categorized to produce the second questionnaire, which used a forced-choice format that was easy to complete and score while at the same time offering meaningful alternatives.

Profile of the Respondents

Of the 311 minority academics who completed the second questionnaire, 73 (23 percent) were Blacks. Of this group, three-fifths (compared with 70 percent of the total sample) were male. The black respondents tended to be older and more highly credentialed than did respondents from other minority groups. Thus, about two in five (42 percent), compared with about one-fourth of the total sample (27 percent), were age 46 or over at the time of the survey; only 37 percent of the Blacks, compared with

54 percent of all respondents, were age 40 or under. The great majority of Blacks (84 percent), compared with 66 percent of all respondents, held a doctoral or professional degree, and the remainder (15 percent) held a master's degree. With respect to the field of their highest degree, Blacks were overrepresented in education (42 percent, compared with 36 percent of the total sample) but underrepresented in arts and humanities (15 percent, compared with 19 percent of the total sample) and natural and health sciences (15 percent, compared with 18 percent of the total sample). The proportion of Blacks with degrees in social sciences (23 percent) was about the same as the proportion for all respondents.

Of the 73 black respondents, all but three were currently employed in academic institutions. Consistent with their tendency to be slightly older than other minority academic personnel, about one-fourth of the Blacks had taken their first academic appointment in 1960 or earlier; the analogous figure for all respondents was only 10 percent.

Of the 70 Blacks currently employed in academic institutions, over half (53 percent) worked in institutions where the student body was predominantly black, and the remainder worked in predominantly white institutions. They were more likely than any other minority group to be employed in private institutions (38 percent, compared with 19 percent of all respondents); indeed, about one-fourth (compared with 8.7 percent of all respondents) were employed in private four-year colleges. (As was pointed out in Chapter 2, the majority of historically black institutions are private four-year colleges.) They were more likely than other minorities to work in institutions located in the South (27 percent), the Great Lakes region (14 percent), and New England (12 percent), but less likely to work in institutions located in the Plains region (0 percent), the Southwest (1.4 percent), or the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Northwest (1.4 percent).

Of the 48 black respondents who indicated faculty ranks, over half (compared with 30 percent of all respondents indicating faculty ranks) were full professors. Of the 41 black respondents who indicated administrative or staff titles, one-fifth were presidents or vice-presidents of their institutions (compared with 9 percent of all respondents), 15 percent were deans (compared with 7 percent of all respondents), 22 percent were associate or assistant deans (compared with 8 percent of all respondents), and 17 percent were the chairs of academic departments (compared with 11 percent of all respondents). On the other hand, black respondents were less likely than were those from other minority groups to be counselors or advisors, researchers, or nonclerical lower-level administrative staff. That Blacks tended to hold higher faculty and administrative ranks than did academic personnel from other minority groups is consistent with their higher average age and longer period of academic employment.

Personal Experience

About three-fifths of the black respondents indicated that they had gone to a predominantly black college for their undergraduate work. Asked about the factors and experiences that encouraged them to complete a baccalaureate, the overwhelming majority of Blacks (86 percent) mentioned the encouragement and support of their families. This was the top-ranked factor among all respondents as well, though only 66 percent of the total sample mentioned it among the top three reasons. The second most frequently mentioned facilitator of college completion involved educational goals and interests, mentioned by 58 percent of the Blacks and 47 percent of the total sample. Blacks were more likely than respondents from other minority groups to mention financial aid (such as grant or scholarship) and opportunity (the availability of a conveniently located, low-cost public institution, the availability of a special program of interest) as influential factors. The three top-ranked factors in graduate school attendance were the same for Blacks as for the total sample: educational goals and interests (mentioned by 74 percent of the Blacks and 60 percent of the total sample), career and economic goals such as the desire to expand job options and to increase earning capacity (49 percent of the Blacks, 50 percent of the total sample), and receiving financial aid (47 percent of both groups). Blacks were more likely than others to mention family encouragement and support as a factor in their taking advanced training, but less likely to mention the support and influence of others (such as co-workers and peers), the desire to serve their community, or the personal challenge of proving they could do it.

Respondents were also asked to indicate, from a list of nine factors, those that had constituted problems or obstacles at the undergraduate and graduate level. In virtually all cases, the proportion of Blacks citing a given factor as a barrier was smaller than the proportion of each of the other three minority groups, as well as smaller than average for the total sample. For instance, financial concerns constituted the most common barrier; it was mentioned as an undergraduate obstacle by 45 percent of the Blacks (compared with 60 percent of the total sample) and as a graduate obstacle by 42 percent of the Blacks (compared with 55 percent of the total sample). The two other most frequently mentioned undergraduate barriers were institutional indifference (29 percent of the Blacks, 33 percent of all respondents) and faculty composition and attitudes (23 percent of the Blacks, 33 percent of all respondents). Blacks were markedly less likely than others to indicate that their undergraduate progress had been impeded by lack of educational preparation (12 percent, compared with 27 percent of the total sample), culture shock (10 percent, compared with 24 percent of the total sample), or family responsibilities (10 percent, compared with

20 percent of the total sample).

At the graduate level, however, Blacks were somewhat more likely than average to say they suffered from social isolation and loneliness (32 percent, compared with 26 percent of the total sample). This difference may be attributable to the fact that many of the black respondents pursued their undergraduate education at a predominantly black college but then went to a predominantly white institution for their advanced training. Thus, not until graduate/professional school did they find themselves in an alienating environment; the experience was apparently traumatic for about one-third of the respondents. Other obstacles at the graduate level included faculty composition and attitudes (mentioned by 30 percent of the Blacks and 36 percent of the total sample); lack of courses, curriculum materials, methodological approaches, and research opportunities that addressed minority concerns (25 percent of the Blacks, 30 percent of the total sample), and institutional indifference (22 percent of the Blacks, 23 percent of the total sample). On the other hand, only 8 percent of the Blacks, compared with 20 percent of the total sample, said they had problems with emotional adjustment (lack of self-confidence, lack of discipline, fear of failure).

Another item on the questionnaire asked respondents whether they faced problems or had responsibilities "above and beyond those of Anglo professionals in comparable positions." Once again, Blacks were somewhat less likely than average to cite a given problem or responsibility. Most commonly mentioned were the difficulty of gaining the acceptance and respect of colleagues (36 percent of Blacks, 40 percent of all respondents), the lack of real institutional commitment to recruiting and retaining minority students and staff (32 percent of Blacks, 42 percent of all respondents). lack of other minority academic personnel to accomplish all that needs to be done (30 percent of Blacks, 36 percent of all respondents), and institutional ethnocentrism as manifested in ignorance of and insensitivity to other cultures (30 percent of Blacks, 38 percent of all respondents).

Opinions on Minority Issues

In addition to gathering information about the past and current experiences of minority academic personnel, the survey asked respondents for their opinions about the obstacles affecting the educational attainment of young men and women of the respondent's race/ethnicity and about particular barriers at different levels of the educational system. Poor educational preparation and financial problems were viewed as major problems confronting minority young people, both by black respondents and by the total sample of respondents. Blacks were more likely than average to say that lack of equal access and educational opportunity and inadequate motivation or direction were problems for young people of their racial background, but less likely than others to mention demands and conflicts created by early marriage and multiple roles, low self-confidence and identity problems, and lack of survival skills for making it through the educational system. In addition, they were more likely than average to say that young black men were hampered by peer pressure against academic achievement and that young black women were hampered by poor guidance and counseling.

At the elementary level, the chief obstacles were poor quality of teaching (mentioned by 67 percent of the black respondents and 61 percent of the total sample); poor educational preparation, especially in basic skills (66 percent of the Blacks, 50 percent of the total sample); lack of resources in the home (42 percent of the Blacks, 35 percent of the total sample), and the poor quality of schools (34 percent of the Blacks, 30 percent of the total sample). Blacks were more likely than were other minorities to say that poor educational and career guidance and negative peer influences were obstacles at the elementary level, but less likely than average to perceive as problems the lack of effective instructional programs, the lack of transitional programs for students with limited English-language abilites, or impractical and irrelevant curricula.

The chief obstacles at the high school level were poor educational preparation (mentioned by 62 percent of the Blacks and 58 percent of the total sample); poor teaching (58 percent of the Blacks, 52 percent of the total sample); and lack of effective educational and career guidance (38 percent of the Blacks, 40 percent of the total sample). Blacks were more likely than other minorities to see poor quality of schools, lack of resources in the home environment, negative peer influence, and a lack of effort to challenge, motivate, and encourage students to do their best as problems for high school students of their race/ethnicity. However, realtively small proportions mentioned the lack of minority teachers as a problem.

Top-ranked among perceived barriers at the college level were poor educational preparation for college work (cited by 73 percent of the black respondents and 61 percent of all respondents) and financial difficulties (mentioned by about half of blacks and of the total sample). Larger-than-average proportions of black respondents viewed lack of prior knowledge about colleges and its demands and overrepresentation in "soft" fields as obstacles to black undergraduates. Relatively few, however, believed that a lack of minority faculty or identity problems and motivational difficulties constituted problems.

Financial problems were top-ranked at the graduate level. In addition, 45 percent of the Blacks (compared with 40 percent of the total sample) saw the lack of minority faculty at the graduate level as an obstacle to the educational attainment of their young people. Blacks were more likely than were other minorities to cite indifferent and insensitive faculty members as an obstacles, but less likely to mention identity problems, low self-esteem, and fear of failure.

Respondents were asked to indicate what particular strengths characterized young people of their race/ethnicity; the patterns of characteristics differed somewhat for the four minority groups. Most commonly mentioned by black respondents were intelligence and curiosity (57 percent, compared with 47 percent of the total sample), resilience and flexibility (48 percent, compared with 34 percent of the total sample), strong family and community ties (42 percent, compared with 51 percent of the total sample), and the desire and determination to succeed (34 percent, compared with 21 percent of the total sample). Blacks were markedly less likely than others to mention a strong sense of cultural identity (32 percent, compared with 52 percent of the total sample), bilingual skills and abilities (1.4 percent, compared with 24 percent of the total sample), or sensitivity to and respect for others (19 percent, compared with 28 percent of the total sample).

Finally, suggestions for improving higher education institutions so that they might better serve minority students were solicited. The most frequent recommendation (mentioned by 51 percent of the black respondents and 43 percent of the total sample) was that academic institutions hire and promote more minority faculty, counselors, and administrators. Second-ranked was the suggestion that minorities should be given more encouragement to attend college (for instance, by the development of outreach and recruitment programs, the establishment of open admissions, and the improvement of articulation between community colleges and four-year colleges). Black respondents were also more likely than others to recommend that higher education institutions give greater emphasis to quality (36 percent, compared with 27 percent of all respondents) and develop academic assistance and tutorial programs (42 percent, compared with 31 percent of all respondents).

Survey of Ford Fellows

One of the most effective programs in improving minority access to advanced training has been the Ford Foundation's Graduate Fellowship Program. Since its inception in 1969, over 1,500 minority graduate students have received awards under this program. To learn more about their characteristics, perceptions, and experiences, the project staff mailed out questionnaires to 1,350 Ford Fellows in the summer of 1980. Usable questionnaires were returned by a total of 630 recipients of Ford Graduate Fellowships, of whom 286 (45 percent) were Blacks.

Profile of the Respondents

Of the 286 black respondents, 122 (43 percent) had done their undergraduate work at predominantly black colleges, and 164 (57 percent) had attended white institutions as undergraduates. These two groups differed somewhat in other demographic characteristics. For instance, men constituted 57 percent of those who had attended black colleges, but only 46 percent of those who had attended white colleges. In addition, one-third of those who attended black colleges, but only 15 percent of those who had attended white colleges, were age 40 or older. These differences are probably explained by the fact that only recently have white institutions made a concerted effort to recruit black students. Moreover, the college attendance of women has increased in recent years. Thus, it is not surprising that the graduates of black colleges tended to be older or that a larger proportion of women were found in the younger group (i.e., those who had attended white colleges). The two groups differed as well in their current residence: Black graduates of black colleges were more likely than any other group to live in the South (37 percent, compared with 12 percent of the total sample) but less likely than average to live in the West (21 percent, compared with 31 percent of the total sample). Black graduates of white colleges were more likely to live in the East (39 percent).

About two-thirds of both groups of Blacks had completed the doctorate at the time of the survey. Those who had attended black colleges for their undergraduate work were more likely to have received their highest degree in physical sciences/mathematics (15 percent, compared with 9 percent of the graduate of white colleges) or in education (24 percent, compared with 20 percent of the graduates of white colleges), whereas those who had attended white colleges for their undergraduate work were more likely to have received their highest degree in social sciences (31 percent, compared with 22 percent of the graduates of black colleges) or psychology (12 percent versus 9 percent). Relative to other minority respondents, Blacks as a group were more likely than others to have a degree in physical sciences/mathematics but less likely to have a degree in social sciences.

Graduate School Experiences

Respondents to the survey were asked which of five factors had been essential in enabling them to attend their first-choice graduate institution. Eighty-seven percent of the Blacks who had attended predominantly black institutions and 83 percent of those who had graduated from white colleges (compared with 87 percent of the total sample) said that the Ford Fellowship itself was essential. The next most commonly mentioned factors (66 percent of the Blacks graduating from black colleges, 60 percent of those from white colleges) was the availability of a job. Spousal support was more frequently mentioned by those from black colleges (38 percent) than those from white colleges (23 percent); this may be a function of the higher average age of the former. Graduates of white colleges were more likely to cite student loans (42 percent, compared with 36 percent of those from black colleges); perhaps younger people who do not have families to support are more willing to incur indebtedness. One-third of both groups said that family/parental support was an important factor in their being able to attend their first-choice institution.

A slightly larger proportion of the black graduates of white colleges (84 percent) than of the black graduates of black colleges (72 percent) had worked while attending graduate school. Otherwise, the two groups of black respondents did not differ much with respect to work-related factors: Slightly over half (56 percent) said that their job was related to their doctoral program; slightly under half (48 percent) said that they worked in an on-campus location; and 23 percent said that their department required all graduate students to have assistantship experience.

About one-fifth of the black respondents said that, in addition to the Ford Fellowships, they got some kind of financial help (fellowship, scholarship, assistantship) from their university; and about one-fifth got an award from an outside source (national association, other foundation, government agency). Forty-six percent of the black graduates of white colleges took a student loan during graduate study, compared with 41 percent of the black graduates of black institutions. The latter were more likely than the former to get financial support from part-time jobs or from their spouse during graduate school.

Several items on the questionnaire dealt with the departmental climate and with relationships with faculty and other students during graduate school. Over three-fifths (62 percent) of those black Ford Fellows who had attended predominantly black colleges indicated that they had a faculty mentor during graduate school; one-fourth said that the mentor was a minority-group member. Of those black respondents who had done their undergraduate work at white colleges, 57 percent had a faculty mentor, and 22 percent said the mentor was a minority-group member. Black graduates of black colleges were more likely than any other group of Ford Fellows to feel that they had received very good academic advising during graduate school (53 percent, compared with 32 percent of black graduates of white colleges and 37 percent of the total sample). Graduates of black colleges were also more likely than those blacks who had attended white colleges to feel that the faculty stimulated the development of different points of view among their students, that the fellowship had a positive impact on their relations with faculty, and that there was usually competition for grades. Blacks who had attended white colleges were more likely than their counterparts from black colleges to say that they usually had the opportunity to determine their own program and that the fellowship had a positive impact on their relationships with other students.

Asked about problems that had affected their progress in graduate school, black Ford Fellows most frequently mentioned finances, though they were less likely than other minorities to cite this source of difficulty. Moreover, they were less likely than average to have difficulty with the oral examination for their doctoral proposal but somewhat more likely than average to say that the foreign language requirement constituted a problem. Those Blacks who had attended black undergraduate institutions were more likely than were their counterparts from white colleges to encounter difficulties connected with writing skills, course requirements, the qualifying examination, pregnancy, and family problems. Black graduates of white colleges were more likely to encounter difficulties with research methods, research for their dissertation, and problems with spouse.

The aspect of graduate school experience most commonly mentioned as positive by Blacks who had attended black colleges was interaction with faculty, whereas those Blacks who had done their undergraduate work at white institutions most frequently mentioned personal development. In addition, about one-fourth mentioned interaction with other students, 15 percent mentioned research and training experiences, and 16 percent mentioned academic freedom and the opportunity to explore new fields. These proportions are similar to those for the total sample. Black graduates of white colleges were twice as likely as their counterparts who had attended black colleges to say that the academic resources of graduate school constituted a positive experience (10 percent versus 5 percent).

As to the negative aspects of the graduate school experience, most frequently mentioned were racial discrimination (by 18 percent of the Blacks from white colleges, 20 percent of the Blacks from black colleges, and 17 percent of the total sample), departmental politics (15 percent of black graduates of white colleges, 11 percent of black graduates of black colleges, and 14 percent of the total sample). Black Ford Fellows who had done their undergraduate work at black instituions were more likely than were their counterparts from white colleges to say they experienced stress and personal uncertainty, personal problems, and difficulty with course requirements; whereas those Blacks from white colleges more often complained about poor academic advising, but the proportions were very small.

Current Employment

Four-fifths of the black Ford Fellows who had done their undergraduate work at predominantly black institutions were employed at the time of the survey, the majority of them (80 percent) in academic institutions. Of those blacks who were graduates of white colleges, 73 percent were employed at the time of the survey, 70 percent of them in academic institutions. As to nonacademic employment, graduates of black colleges were more likely to be working in research organizations or elementary and secondary school systems, whereas black gradautes of white colleges were more likely to be employed in private-sector organizations, government agencies, or public service organizations.

Looking just at those black Ford Fellows who were employed in academic institutions, we find that close to half of graduates of black colleges were currently working in predominantly black institutons, about one-fifth were employed in white universities, one-fifth in white four-year colleges, and 9 percent in white two-year colleges. Of those Blacks who had done their undergraduate work in white colleges, on the other hand, close to two-thirds of those who were academically employed worked in white universities, 18 percent in white four-year colleges, only 11 percent in black institutions, and 4 percent in white two-year colleges. Consistent with their tendency to be older, those who had attended black colleges were more likely than their counterparts who had attended white colleges to hold full-time positions, to have tenure, and to be associate or full professors.

Summary

This chapter has presented the findings from two surveys conducted especially for this project and designed to elicit the views of minority-group members who have achieved at high level in the higher education system.

Black respondents to the survey of minority academic personnel were, on the average, older than respondents from other minority groups, and were more likely to have doctoral or professional degrees. Consistent with these characteristics, they tended to hold high faculty or administrative ranks, and about half were employed in predominantly black institutions.

Blacks were somewhat more likely than other minority academic personnel to attribute their educational attainment to the encouragement of their families and to their own desire to learn and to gain an education. They were less likely than others to mention most specific barriers, obstacles, and problems, perhaps because many of them attended predominantly black colleges as undergraduates (59 percent) and were currently employed in predominantly black institutions (50 percent), where they did not face the difficulties encountered by minority personnel in a white-dominated environment. Loneliness and social isolation were often a problem at the graduate level, however.

Like respondents of other minority groups, Blacks were likely to see poor educational preparation as a barrier to young people at various levels of the educational system. In addition, financial difficulties, inadequate guidance and counseling, and negative peer influences were viewed as a problem. However, Blacks do not seem to face the problems encountered by Hispanics and American Indians because of their markedly different cultural heritage, nor do they seem to suffer to the same extent from low self-esteem or identity problems.

The 286 Blacks who responded to the survey of Ford Graduate Fellowship recipients were divided into two subgroups: those who had done their undergraduate work at a black institution (43 percent) and those who had done their undergraduate work at a predominantly white institution. The former group tended to be older and included a larger proportion of men and of persons who currently resided in the South. In addition, black Ford Fellows who had attended black colleges were more likely to have received support from their spouse or to have worked during graduate school and to be currently employed at black institutions. Those who had attended white colleges were more likely to have taken loans to help pay for their graduate education. Finally, those from black institutions were more likely to feel satisfied with their relations with faculty and to believe that they had received adequate academic advising, whereas those from white institutions were more likely to be satisfied with their relations with other students and with their autonomy and independence during graduate school. Blacks from both groups tended to feel that the Ford Graduate Fellowship made it possible for them to attend their first-choice institution.

CHAPTER 7

RECOMMENDATIONS

On the basis of the findings to emerge from the study of the higher education of disadvantaged minorities, the commission formulated a number of recommendations intended to increase the numbers of minority students who enter and complete programs at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Those recommendations that have special relevance to Blacks are abstracted from the commission report (1982) and presented in this chapter.

Implementation of the Value-Added Model

- Educational institutions should revise their testing and grading procedures to reflect and enhance the value-added mission. Such a revision requires, first, that current normative or relativistic measures be replaced by measures that assess the learning and growth of the individual student and, second, that these measures be administered periodically to assess the individual's growth over time. Results from both local and national tests should be routinely fed back to individual students and teachers on an item-by-item basis. Such revised testing and grading procedures will better serve the educational process by providing students, teachers, institutions, and policy makers with feedback on the nature and extent of student learning and growth over time. This feedback will be useful not only in evaluating the effectiveness of educational programs but also in diagnosing the educational progress and needs of individual students.
- Educational institutions should use standardized tests for course placement, evaluation, and counseling rather than just for the selection and screening of students.

- Educational institutions should enlarge their concept of competency measures to include the assessment of growth in the noncognitive realm: personal development, interpersonal skills, and self-esteem.

Precollegiate Education

- School counselors and teachers must make special efforts to assist minority students in understanding the relationship between their education and their future careers and other life options.
- Secondary school conselors and teachers should encourage minority students to enroll in college preparatory curricula and to take courses in mathematics, languages, natural science, and social science.
- Schools should routinely test new and continuing students, as a. basis for undertaking any remedial efforts that may be required to correct for the effects of earlier educational deficiences.
- Secondary school teachers and administrators, working in close collaboration with faculty from nearby colleges and universities, should define those intellectual competencies that are crucial to effective preformance in college and develop tests to measure such competencies.
- Such test should be administered on a repeated before-and-after basis to assess student progress and program effectiveness, in accordance with the value-added model.
- The results of such periodic testing and retesting should be a major element in the accountability of school teachers and administrators, and those who are demonstrably effective in assisting minority students should be more adequately compensated.
- The school leadership should make greater efforts to ascertain and respond to the concerns of minority parents, to involve them

in the operation of the schools, and to assist them in understanding the objectives, procedures, and practices of the schools.

° The per-student formula now used to allocate resources among public elementary and secondary schools within a school district should be revised so that predominantly minority schools receive a greater share of these resources, some of which should be used to develop rigorous academic programs and associated support services for their students.

° Higher education institutions, schools, and departments concerned with the training of elementary and secondary school teachers should develop stronger academic programs designed, among other things, to increase the prospective teacher's awareness of and sensitivity to minority cultures and values.

Community Colleges

° Community colleges should revitalize their transfer function by establishing as one option a "transfer-college-within-a-college," wherein all students aspiring to a baccalaureate can be brought together and exposed to the same kinds of intensive educational and extracurricular experiences commonly available to students at residental institutions. Funding formulas may have to be revised to strengthen the "college-within-a-college."

° The transfer program staffs of community colleges should work closely with their counterparts at senior institutions to improve articulation.

° Transfer programs within community colleges should offer intensive remediation and academic counseling.

° Senior institutions should make more effort to facilitate the transfer of community college graduates by setting aside an appropriate amount of financial aid for these students and by offering orientation and counseling to meet their special needs.

- In the areas where senior institutions and community colleges are located close to one another, young people aspiring to a baccalaureate should be encouraged to enroll in the senior institutions, without prejudice to the continuing opportunity of students in two-year colleges who may wish to transfer to the senior institution.

Academic and Personal Support Services

- Colleges and universities should strenghten their efforts to help underprepared minority students improve their study habits and develop their basic skills, by offering tutoring, developmental courses, and academic counseling. Such efforts will not only benefit the individual student but will also help institutions financially by reducing student attrition rates.
- Colleges and universities should provide resources to establish centers where minority students can meet together for social and educational exchanges. Such centers can promote a sense of community, can help new students learn about the system, and can foster cultural identity, pride, and strength in such a way that minority students will be able to challenge as well as to enrich and broaden the traditional values of the instiution.
- Minority students themselves, as well as local minority communities, should be used as a resource in providing leadership and initiatives for the organization of such academic and personal support services, and should be given a responsible role in decisions concerning the operation and management of minority services.
- The trustees, administrators, and faculties of colleges and universities should give strong and visible support for the development of ethnic

studies programs, so that the perspectives added by such programs will be available for the benefit of all students, minority and majority.

The Myth of Equal Access

- Educational policy makers and planners should revise their traditional concept of equality access to take into account the type, quality, and resources of the institution entered.
- The more selective institutions--including the "flagship" (major) universities in each state--should review their recruitment and admissions procedures and where necessary revise them to attract and admit more minority students.
- These selective institutions should make clear their commitment to the goal of increasing minority enrollments by providing support services, presenting minority perspectives in the curriculum, and hiring, promoting, and tenuring more minority faculty and administrators.
- Institutions should reexamine the educational rationale underlying traditional selective admissions practices. Ideally, the predicitive model of admissions should be replaced with a model that focuses on the institution's value-added mission.
- Those institutions using the predicitive model of admissions should examine the validity of their formulas separately for minorities, with special attention to the possibility that standardized test scores, which pose a far greater handicap to minorities than high school grades, add little to the prediciton of college performance.

Financial Aid

- Whenever possible, students with significant financial need should be given aid in the form of grants rather than loans.

- Students should be given enough aid so that they do not need to work more than half time.
- If students are given enough aid in the form of work-study support, it should be packaged in such a way that they work less than half time and, whenever possible, at on-campus jobs.
- Federal and state legislators and policy makers, should support expanded grant and work-study programs.

Graduate and Professional Education

- Federal, state, and institutional policy makers should increase financial aid for minority students at the graduate and professional levels. In particular, every effort should be made to expand the number of assistantships available to minority graduate students, since this form of aid seems to intensify student involvement in graduate study, promote professional development, and strengthen the bond between student and faculty mentor.
- Federal, state, and private agencies should consider implementing challenge grant programs, since such programs seem likely to increase the amount of financial aid available for minority graduate students as well as to strengthen institutional commitment to the goal of increasing minority enrollments.
- Graduate faculties should be more sensitive and responsive to the need of minority graduate students to have more freedom and support in selecting research topics, choosing methodologies, analyzing data, and interpreting results, consistent with graduate standards.
- Graduate and professional schools should make special efforts to

increase their pools of minority graduate students and the presence of minority members on their faculties.

- Federal and state policy makers should give increased attention to the nation's long-term needs for highly skilled academic, research, and technical workers. We believe that recent cuts in funding for advanced training programs based on actual or presumed short-term surpluses of personnel in certain fields are short-sighted, and that they disproportionately and unfairly reduce the opportunities of emerging minority scholars to contribute to the general good.

Minority Faculty and Administrators

- Colleges and universities should seek to recruit and hire more minority faculty members, administrators, and student services personnel and should make every effort to promote and tenure minority educators. Actions do indeed speak louder than words: no amount of rhetorical commitment to the principles of equal opportunity, affirmative action, and pluralism can compensate for or justify the current degree of minority underrepresentation among faculty, administrators, staff members, and students in higher education.
- Top administrators should demonstrate their clear and unequivocal support of efforts to recruit, hire, promote, and tenure minorities. In many respects, the administration establishes the campus atmosphere or "tone." Thus, a visible personal commitment to change on the part of one or two senior officials can be critical in effecting increased minority representation on a campus.
- Colleges and universities should make every effort to ensure that minority faculty members, administrators, and student personnel workers are represented in all types of positions at all levels

within the institution. An unfortunate side effect of the effort to provide better services to minority students has been the creation of positions that are perceived and labeled as "minority" positions; often, minority staff are hired for part-time, short-term, nontenure-track jobs that are supported by "soft" funds from outside the institution's line-item budget. Because they are isolated from the institutional mainstream, the incumbents of such jobs have little opportunity to influence institutional policies and practices, limited interaction with majority students and few prospects for advancement.

- Colleges and universities should revise their hiring and promotion criteria so as to recognize and reward a wider variety of accomplishments and types of service. Although we are certainly not the first to advocate change in the current review and promotion system, continued adherence to narrowly defined criteria tends to penalize minority staff members who, in trying to fulfill the multiple roles demanded of them, often have little time or energy left to devote to scholarly research and other traditional functions. Institutions that emphasize scholarly activity as a major criterion for promotion should consider establishing a junior faculty research leave program for those young faculty members who have taken on special advising and counseling duties.
- State legislatures and state boards should support administrative internship programs (such as the current state-funded program in the University of California and California State University and College systems) to develop and promote minority and women administrators in public colleges and universities.

Government Programs

- The federal government should continue to play its leadership role in emphasizing access to higher education for all segments of society. In particular, federal programs in the areas of student aid, institutional support, and special interventions deserve continued support.
- State and local policy makers, planners, and educators should devote more attention to the factors that impede full minority participation in higher education. Federal funding should supplement, not supplant, state and local efforts to support a range of programs and interventions responsive to the needs of minority students.

Minority Women

- Colleges and universities should provide counseling services and personal support groups to assist minority women in overcoming the barriers that result from double standards and sex-role stereotypes.
- Colleges and universities should provide science and mathematics clinics and special courses to help minority women make up for deficiences in preparation in these subjects, so that these women will be able to consider a wider range of careers. These efforts should be additional to particular interventions at the precollege level.
- Institutions should hire and promote more minority women as faculty, administrators, and staff.
- Institutions should provide child care services on campus.
- Institutions should make an effort to involve those minority women who live at home more fully in campus life--for example, by providing dormitory space or other facilities where these women can spend time interacting with other students.

Data Pertaining to Minorities

- The U.S. Bureau of the Census should hire and train more minority census takers and researchers to develop and administer questionnaires and to analyze and interpret the results of Census Bureau surveys.
- The officials responsible for public higher education in each state should institute a comprehensive data system for tracking and monitoring the flows of minority and nonminority students through the community colleges, baccalaureate-granting institutions, and graduate institutions in the state.

Evaluation of Minority-Oriented Programs

- Public and private agencies funding minority-oriented programs should require that all proposals for such projects include an evaluation component, and should earmark a certain fraction of the project funds for such evaluation.
- Funding agencies should view the results of evaluation studies as a means of improving and strengthening programs, and should communicate this view to those involved in operating the programs.

Further Research on Minorities

- Officials in private and state agencies, as well as in the federal government, should give priority to minority-oriented research in allocating their increasingly limited funds. These funding sources should aim to establish a process whereby a broad-based and sustained consultation about information needs and issues in higher education can take place within minority communities. Scholars from these communities should have a leading role in efforts to combine imaginatively the talents and energies present within these communities for the purposes of generating research agenda and priorities, carrying out research, and implementing the action implications flowing from these studies.

- The following specific topics should be given much more thorough study:
  - a. factors affecting attrition from secondary school;
  - b. the quality of education received in secondary schools with predominantly minority enrollments;
  - c. the effectiveness of programs for improving articulation between secondary schools and higher education institutions;
  - d. factors affecting minority students' decisions to pursue careers in natural sciences and engineering;
  - e. factors affecting minority access to the more prestigious institutions;
  - f. factors affecting minority attrition from undergraduate study;
  - g. the impact of alternative financial aid programs on the achievement and persistence of minority students;
  - h. factors affecting the success of community college students who aspire to the baccalaureate;
  - i. the importance of sex differences within minority groups;
  - j. ways to develop the talents and skills of adults living in minority communities who have not had prior access to educational opportunities.
- Public and private funding agencies should give serious consideration to providing relatively long-term support for programmatic research on minorities. Given the importance of longitudinal research in furthering our understanding of issues related to the higher education of minorities, what is specifically needed is a periodic longitudinal study that will make it possible to monitor the flows of minorities through the educational system and into the workforce, to evaluate the impact of special minority-oriented programs, and to identify educational policies or practices that facilitate or inhibit minority

progress through the system. Such a study should begin during the secondary school years (or at the latest by college entry) and should be replicated on a regular basis at least every four years.

REFERENCES

Astin, Alexander W. Preventing Students from Dropping Out. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

Astin, Alexander W. Four Critical Years. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977.

Astin, Alexander W. Minorities in American Higher Education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1982.

Astin, Helen S., Patricia Cross, and Oscar Porter. Student Financial Aid and Persistence in College. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, 1979.

Atelsek, Frank J., and Irene Gomberg. Estimated Number of Student Aid Recipients, 1976-77. Washington: Higher Education Panel, American Council on Education, 1977.

Blake, Elias, Jr. "Federal Policy and the Goal of Equal Opportunity." In Beyond Desegregation: Urgent Issues in the Education of Minorities. New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1978. Pp. 28-33.

Bowles, Frank, and Frank A. DeCosta. Between Two Worlds: A Profile of Negro Higher Education. Sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.

Brown, Frank and Madelon D. Stent. Minorities in U.S. Institutions of Higher Education. New York: Praeger, 1977.

Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Commerce. The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States: An Historical View, 1790-1978. Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 80. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979.

Chambers, Fredrick. Black Higher Education in the United States: A Selected Bibliography of Negro Higher Education and Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Chickering, Arthur. Commuting Versus Resident Students: Overcoming Educational Inequities of Living Off Campus. San Feancisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974.

Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities. Final Report. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, 1982.

Dearman, Nancy B., and Valena W. Plisko. The Condition of Education, 1980 Edition. Washington: National Center for Education Statistics, Department of Education, 1980.

Dearman, Nancy B., and Valena W. Plisko. *The Condition of Education, 1981 Edition.* Washington: National Center for Education Statistics, Department of Education, 1980.

Dvorak, E. J. "A Longitudinal Study of Nonmedical Drug Use Among University Students--A Brief Summary." Paper presented to American College Health Association, San Francisco, April 1971.

Franklin, John Hope. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*, 5th edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Gill, Gerald R. *Meanness Mania: The Changed Mood.* Washington: Howard University Press, 1980.

Glover, R. and Gross, B. *Report of the National Forum on Learning in the American Future: Future Needs and Goals for Adult Learning, 1980-2000.* New York: Future Directions for a Learning Society, The College Board, 1979.

Grant, W. Vance, and C. George Lind. *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1974 Edition*. Washington: National Center for Education Statistics, 1975.

Green, Kenneth C. *Government Support for Minority Participation in Higher Education*. AAHE/ERIC Research Report. Washington: American Association for Higher Education, forthcoming.

Holmes, D. O. *The Evolution of the Negro College*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1934.

Institute for the Study of Educational Policy. *Equal Educational Opportunity for Blacks in U.S. Higher Education: An Assessment*. Washington: Howard University Press, 1976.

Haynes, Leonard L., III. *A Critical Examination of the Adams Case: A Source Book*. Washington: Institute for Services to Education, 1978.

Jones, Faustine Childress. *The Changing Mood in America: Eroding Commitment.* Washington: Howard University Press, 1977.

Jones, Faustine Childress. "External Crosscurrents and Internal Diversity: An Assessment of Black Progress, 1960-1980." *Daedalus*, *110*, Spring 1981, 71-101.

Kluger, Richard. *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

Louis, James P. "Introduction." In *Black Higher Education in the United States: A Selected Bibliography on Negro Higher Education and Historically Black Colleges and Universities*, compiled by Fredrick Chambers. Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Mingle J. R. *Black Enrollment in Higher Education: Trends in the Nation and the South*. Atlanta, GA: Southern Regional Education Board, 1978.

Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Harper and R[illegible] 1944.

National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities. *Access of Black Americans to Higher Education: How Open Is the Door?* Washington: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1979. (a)

National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities. *Black Colleges and Universities: An Essential Component of a Diverse System of Higher Education*. Washington: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1979. (b)

National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities. *Still a Lifeline: The Status of Historically Black Colleges and Universities.* Washington: Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1980.

Pumroy, D. K. "Cigarette Smoking and Academic Achievement." *Journal of General Psychology*, 1967, *77*, 31-34.

Stent, Madelon D. "Education for Black Americans on the 25th Anniversary of the Brown Decision." In *The State of Black America, 1979*. New York: National Urban League, 1979. Pp. 79-103.

Turner, W. H., and J. A. Michael. *Traditionally Black Institutions of Higher Education: Their Identification and Selected Characteristics*. Washington: National Center for Education Statistics, 1978.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. *Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women*. Washington: The Commission, 1978.

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. *Data on Earned Degrees Conferred from Institutions of Higher Education by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, Academic Year 1975-76.* Washington: Office for Civil Rights, 1978. (a)

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. *Racial, Ethnic and Sex Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 1976*. Washington: Office for Civil Rights, 1978. (b)

Woodward, C. Vann. *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd revised edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.